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THE ORIGIN OF THE ESKIMO.

THERE are perhaps no people on the face of the earth whose characteristics separate them more completely from the other races of mankind than the Eskimo. They are, in the first place, extremely homogeneous in physical features, in language, in social habits, in religion, and in modes of life. Their home is in the most inhospitable regions of the northern hemisphere. Nowhere do they keep far from the coast, and throughout their entire range they shun, or are compelled to shun, the wooded zone. Yet though divided into tribes, and grouped into broader sections, the Eskimo are everywhere the same people, from the eastern point of Siberia to the eastern shores of Greenland. As a rule they neither marry with nor give in marriage to the people on their southern limits, and wherever they maintain any relations with them, these relations are of the most unamiable order. But when we examine the range of this singular people more closely we discover that they do not extend throughout the entire Polar Basin. Wherever the seal is found, there the Eskimo finds food, light, warmth, clothing, and implements of the chase, not to speak of shelter, harness for their dog-sledges, and the materials for forming their admirably fashioned boats and canoes. But though within the circuit occupied by them the tribesmen have their range circumscribed only by the seal,—these northern limits in Smith's Sound being coterminous with the *Phoca hispida*—they are only inhabitants of a corner of

Asia, adjoining Behring Strait, and in no respect belong to Europe, though from the White Sea eastward, there are all the conditions which render life comfortable for these maritime hunters. On the contrary, the coast of Arctic Europe and Asia is occupied at intervals by Lapps, Samoyedes, Ostiaks, Tungus, Tchukchi, Koriaks, Kamtskadales, and to some extent by the Giliaks, whose most southern range is the Sea of Okhotsk. None of these tribes are wholly maritime. Most of them only frequent the coast at certain seasons, and, unlike the Eskimo, the majority are herdsmen as well as fishers, possessing, as they do, great herds of reindeer, animals which though abundant in the Eskimo country, that people have never tamed either for pastoral purposes or for dragging their sledges. Finally, not one of the races mentioned are in any way related to the Eskimo. They differ from them in faith, in habits, and wherever we can obtain any glimpse into their antecedents, have a history widely different from them. In short, they agree with them in one respect only—they all inhabit the Arctic bounds of the northern hemisphere. Hence where Schrenk and Seeland have grouped under the title of "Palæasiatics" (as having been pushed back by the later invading Mongols), the Yukahirs, the Ainos, the Kamtskadales, the Koriaks, the Tchukchi, the Eskimo, the Ostiaks, Omaks, Anaules, Kottes and other tribes which have disappeared—they jumble together a mass of European, Asiatic, and American races, who differ in everything except in the inhospitality of the country which they inhabit.

Over nearly the entire extent of the Asiatic shore and the whole of that of Northern Europe we find not a trace of this people; and so characteristic are the stone and bone implements of the Eskimo, their durable huts of earth and stone, the circles of stones marking the sites of their summer skin tents, and their graves, that it is impossible for them to live long in any quarter without leaving records of this character behind them. Any old village place in Greenland yields, within a few inches of the surface, scores of flint and chaledony arrow heads and splinters, steatite pots and lamps, or their fragments, and bone and ivory tools of every description; and in old inhabited spots the Kökkenmöddings are many feet in thickness. It is only when we come to the region beginning at Cape Shelagskii and extending to the East Cape of Siberia that we find any traces of them. This tract is now held by the coast Tchukchi, but it was not always their home, for they expelled from this dreary stretch the Onkilon or Eskimo race who took refuge in or near less attractive quarters between the East Cape and Anadyrskii

Bay, just as the Yakuts by the shores of the Kolyma drove forth the Omoks, the Shelags, the Tungus and the Yukahirs who formerly inhabited it. The only true Asiatic Eskimo existing at the present day are those who dot the shore from the East Cape round by Plover Bay to Cape Olutorsk and probably to Kolyutschin Bay and beyond; though the ethnography of that region is very complicated; the Tchukchi and the Eskimo having evidently, for the first time in the history of the latter race, more or less amalgamated, so that in his earlier works Dr. Rink was led to class the Tchukchi among his western branch of the Eskimo, a mistake for the correction of which we are indebted to the researches of Dall, Nordenskjöld and others. This linguistic amalgam or alloy is seen in various of the neighbouring districts of Alaska and North Eastern Asia. In such localities a vocabulary collected at random may be purely Eskimo or purely not Eskimo, or a mixture containing words in different languages and dialects. For instance, Mr. Pilling notes that in the vocabularies collected by Nordenskjöld near Behring Strait, Sandwich Island words occur. These must have been imported by the sailors of whaling vessels which annually visit these regions, though by this time they have become incorporated in the Indian and Eskimo dialects.<sup>1</sup>

(2.) The moment, however, we cross Behring Strait, we are in a true Eskimo country, and with very little break—and then only when the nature of the shore and the ice are unfitted for the home of sea-hunting and fishing tribes—we do not lose sight of them until we reach the East Greenland coast. Wherever man has gone he has either come upon some of these *tegaru ándpár* or the remains of their former habitations. We can trace their migration by the stone huts, the stone circles, the "house places," the graves, the abandoned sledge-runners often of bone, or of wood, which is almost undecayable in the Arctic air, or by other unquestionable proofs of the northern wanderers having passed that way or having occupied it when their numbers were greater than at present. Even yet, they

<sup>1</sup> Words have been introduced by the Russians who for so many years had possession of the territory now known as Alaska. One of them is the term applied to the double and treble seated kayak peculiar to certain tribes of the Alaska Eskimo. The *umiak*, or open skin boat, is also used by certain tribes on the north-east of Asia who apply to it the Kamschtskan term of *bidar*. This word has now got incorporated, Mr. Petroff tells us, into all the dialects of Alaska wherever Russian influence once extended, under its diminutive *bidarka* which was applied by the Muscovites to the kayak. The Eskimo have also adopted the word in the form of *bidali*, which is however used to designate only the two or three hatch kayaks, a variety peculiar to the Aleutian islands. From Bristol Bay westward and northward the single kayak and the umiak only are used.



are quite equal to the capabilities of their chosen land. The explorer is often amazed at the spots which they occupy. He will "hook on" to an ice-floe in a blinding storm of snow, and as the white landscape peers through the drift he is apt to imagine that he has arrived at a land "where no man comes or hath come since the making of the world." But by-and-bye the shower abates. Then he notices that what looked like black specks on the shore are in motion, and pop in and out of the snow banks. In a few minutes they gather in knots, and before he is well aware a dozen dog sledges, with men, women and children, are skimming over the ice to the vessel, or rowing in umiaks, or paddling in their kayaks, their joyous shouts of "timmoo! pilletay!" echoing through the rarified Arctic atmosphere. Instead of the ship having anchored in a desolate bay, it had come abreast of a comparatively populous, and extremely merry Eskimo hamlet. Over the entire Arctic Archipelago these Eskimo are scattered, and though, as we have mentioned, groups with certain broad characteristics can be noted, they are in all essential features the same people from Behring Strait to the Greenland shore of Denmark Strait. However, the tribes near the western limit of the race approximate in many of their characteristics and in their implements and habits to the neighbouring Indian tribes, while the further the tribes remove from Behring Strait the more highly finished are their hunting weapons; though their social organisation becomes ruder and ruder, or at least not so complex, the further they are separated from the last named sea.

The Eskimo are therefore an essentially American people, with a meridional range greater than that of any other race.<sup>2</sup> The Indians have wandered through an infinitely greater number of latitudes. But apart from the fact that they do not cross Behring Strait, the eastern limit of the other American aborigines is on the western side of Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and part of Labrador, west of the Eskimo range.

It is also clear that this migration has always been from west to east, as also has been that of the Indian tribes; the aborigines of the New World have thus reversed the course of colonization so far as this applies to the white man's roamings. It is indeed by no means certain that the Eskimo had completely occupied the region they now dot until about the close of the 14th century. When Red Erik and his Icelanders discovered and settled in South Green-

<sup>2</sup> The English and Arabs may be excepted, their spread being due to other causes.



land, they do not appear to have found any Eskimo in prior possession. But in the year 1379, the "Skrellings," the "parings of mankind," made their appearance, and from that day gave the Norsemen so much trouble, that to them, it has been suggested, the desertion of the country until the beginning of last century was due. The legends of the Greenlanders are full of stories relating to their ancestors of the "Kablunak," or whites. Hence it appears that the tribe thus suddenly bursting in upon the South Greenland settlements, was one of an unusually large size, which had succeeded in passing the glaciers of Melville Bay, or had probably been for ages previously living further North. It is, however, erroneous to imagine, as is usually done, that this was the first appearance of the Eskimo in South Greenland. The evidence of Are Torgilsson who flourished from 1068, to 1148, and was therefore well acquainted with Erik's companions, is positive in proof of the earliest adventurers finding "fragments of canoes, and articles wrought of stone, showing that the same race of people who inhabited Vinland, and whom the Greenland settlers called Skrellings, must have roamed about here." Still later in 1266, Thorgil Orrabeinsfortre met with men on the East Coast, though, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, the probabilities are, that this shore was peopled by wanderers who after crossing the Northern continent by Smith's Sound, where traces of their possession are found, doubled, with the musk ox, the ermine and the lemming, the Northern coast of Greenland, a feat which is still to be accomplished by the more modern Arctic explorer.<sup>3</sup> These wanderings are still in progress. As one hunting or fishing ground gets too populous, a few families, or as many as will fill one umiak, or flat open skin boat, move to some other quarter, and there in time establish a tribelet. Their migrations could never have been in large bodies like those of the Kalmucks in 1616 and 1671. The difficulty of providing food for any great number, would forbid this. They also shift their quarters according to the facilities for summer and winter game, in this respect consulting the migrations of the seals, catacea, reindeer and birds. The people who at one time inhabited the Archipelago west of Davis Strait, have of late years removed to Ponds Inlet, and southward, for the sake of bartering with

<sup>3</sup> On this subject I may be allowed to refer the reader to the Arctic Papers of the Royal Geographical Society (1875), and my Editions of *Rinks Danish Greenland* (1877), and *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (1875). The general characteristics of the people are given in my *Peoples of the World*, vol. i. pp. 14-32, and the article "Eskimo" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

the whalers, and for the same reason, a large settlement was formed in the vicinity of Cumberland Sound, though the Eskimo race is, in my opinion, a decaying one. On the shores of Behring Strait, and the border of Baffins Bay and Davis Strait, what has euphemistically been called "civilization," is rapidly decimating the people. In Smith's Sound, there is merely a remnant. In Danish Greenland a pure-blooded Eskimo is extremely rare, and even the mixed race is not increasing, while the East Coast is occupied by only one or two families. These facts enable us to understand how the Eskimo have strung themselves along the Arctic shore from one side of America to another. Hunger, the struggle for existence, and the physical law of the impossibility of "two bodies occupying the same space at the same time" have in their case, as in the case of all other nations, been the factors at work in promoting the dispersal of this widely spread race.

(3) These data are merely the necessary preface to an attempt towards the solution of the problem of the origin of the Eskimo. Did these hyperboreans come from Asia, or are they evolutions, differentiations, as it were, of some of the other American races? That all of the American peoples came originally from Asia, is I think an hypothesis for which a great deal might be said. Unless they originated there, or were auctothonic, an idea which may at once be dismissed, they could scarcely have come from anywhere else, since admitting Madoc and his mythical voyage, even the Welsh do not claim for their countrymen the distinction of being the progenitor of all the tribesmen from Cape Bismarck to Cape Flattery. But the central question is whether the Eskimo are of a later date than the Indians, or are really Indians compelled to live under less favourable conditions than the rest of their kinsfolk. The latter will, I think, be found to be the most reasonable view to adopt. Mr. A. F. Chamberlain has the courage to affirm that the Eskimo were the dolichocephalic people who formerly extended over a great portion of North and perhaps of South America, but who have been intruded upon, and pushed back by more warlike and aggressive races. This writer even endeavours to trace a resemblance between the Eskimo and the Botocudos and other South American tribes, and even between them and the so-called fossil men of Brazil. Regarding this hypothesis there is nothing more to be said, except that it is unsupported by anything approaching to proof, and might with equal force be made to apply to many of the other American tribes, to the Hydahs and Kaloshes for example, who adopt the hideous lip deformities of the Botocudos,

though in their case, only the women practise the insertion of labrets in the under lip, and even they are beginning to abandon this characteristic trait.

The Eskimo language belongs to the American group, though this fact by itself is not very conclusive of anything. Various efforts have been made to trace a relationship between it and some other American tongues, and only recently this has been vigorously attempted in the case of the Iroquois. The resemblance is, however, more fancied than real, the supposed likeness in certain words being simply some of those alluring phonetic similarities which so often lead amateur philologists astray, and give rise to ethno-genealogical theories of the most amazing character. The Eskimo and the Indian have always kept apart; when they meet there is generally a fight, and the Indian has usually the worst of the encounter. The Eskimo are, however, great traders, and their country supplies articles which are not found in some of the adjoining Indian territory. Hence, in the Iroquois tongue there may perchance be found some Eskimo expressions for which their own dialects afford no equivalent. One of these is *kangnusak*, copper in the Greenlandic dialect, (*kannooyak* in that of the Coppermine River), which as a substantive is in Iroquois, *kanatyca*. Again Dr. Brinton notes that the following passage occurs in the MSS. of Christopher Pylæus of date 1749. "*Tschiechrohne* heissen die Grönländer ["Greenlanders" being of course used as a generic term for "Eskimo"]; . . . *Techie*, ein Seehund. Die drei obgenannte Seneker wussten nicht nur von den Grönländern, sondern auch ihrer Contry (sic), Landsart, Kleidung, Nahrung," etc. The Iroquois, we know, pushed their war parties as far south as the present State of Louisiana; it is clear that they carried them as far north as the shores of the Frozen Ocean; indeed from what Hearne and Franklin tell us, there was guerilla warfare going on between the Indians and the Eskimo in or about the Hudson Bay region. We also know, apart from pure Eskimo words being found in various Indian languages, that the Eskimo must at one time have wandered far afield in their trading expeditions, for we read in the Icelandic Sagas of the Greenland vikings meeting with them to the south of Newfoundland.

It is therefore more than possible that without accepting any such wild hypothesis as that of the Eskimo having been settled on the Virginia coast when the Tuscaroras arrived early in the fourteenth century,<sup>4</sup> that in various of the Indian languages, of Canada

<sup>4</sup> Brinton : *Myths of the New World*, p. 24.



and Alaska, and even of British Columbia, Eskimo words—and *vice versa*—may be found. However, though it is impossible to accept the sweeping conclusions which Mr. Chamberlain has formulated, it is quite in accordance with facts to believe that the Eskimo are of American origin. They are, we know, settled on the eastern point of Asia, so that it is open to suggest that these people, or those who were expelled by the Tehukchi, were the ancestors of those who afterwards spread across the opposite American continent. This, however, is less likely than that the American Eskimo migrated across Behring Strait, and extended a little away along the Siberian shore. To this day the Americans cross to Asia, and on an island in Behring Strait there is a regular fair held for exchanging the products of the two quarters of the world. But the Asiatic Eskimo never cross to America. Why, if the Eskimo were originally Asiatics, they did not extend eastward, it is difficult to understand. They are a bold people, quite able to hold their own, and though the races mentioned now and then frequent the Siberian and European coasts, they are not maritime in the sense that the Eskimo are, and most likely only reached the polar sea in comparatively recent times. The land was therefore free for the Eskimo to take possession of, and is quite as attractive from their point of view as that on the American coast, which is their true home. The Eskimo, moreover, use the dog for dragging their sledges: if they had come from Asia it is in the highest degree probable that they would have brought the reindeer across the ice with them, or would have tamed the wild ones on the American coast.

On the other hand, the Eskimo bear a striking resemblance in their habits, in their utensils, in their dress, and in their domestic economy, to the neighbouring Indians of Alaska. This likeness we have seen grows less and less as they recede further and further from Alaska, until in Greenland the Eskimo assimilate to the Alaskan Indians least of any of their race. This remarkable physical resemblance I noticed when, for the first time, I saw the heavy-faced Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands and the North West American coast. Only two years before—namely, in 1861—I had passed the best part of a summer among the Eskimo of the Western shore of Baffins Bay and Davis Strait, so that the recollection of that people was still fresh in my memory. For the next four years I was very familiar with almost every tribe of Indians between California and Alaska. But it was only on the British Columbian and Vancouver coast that the Eskimo resemblance struck me markedly, and then mainly in the immediate vicinity of the Eskimo territory south of

Behring Strait, and on the outside or Pacific shores of Vancouver Island. There I saw to my amazement the inflated sealskin used as a drag in killing whales, and salmon spears identical in plan with those of the Eskimo in daily use among the fishing tribes. In 1867 I was in Greenland, and though the Eskimo of that region are now very mixed, another opportunity presented itself of comparing the two races. Still later I found that my friend Dr. Rink, who was for so many years Governor of South Greenland, and has only recently retired from the Presidency of the Royal Board of Trade, had been engaged in working out the idea of the Eskimo having sprung up in Alaska. This he has subsequently done with a wealth of detail which is at his disposal alone. His views have aroused much discussion in America. The theory he has advocated is no more than a theory. It has not been demonstrated, and will require the help of many other investigators before this can be done. However, though some of the facts which he adduces in favour of the Eskimo having been evolved from the Indians south of them admit of a different explanation than that which he supplies, there can be little doubt as to the merit of the investigations which he has made, and their superiority over any previous attempt of a similar character.<sup>5</sup>

At the time when the Eskimo arrived on the American Arctic coast, their practical identity in customs, language, and other traits prove that they were a homogeneous body of people,—members most likely of one tribe or sept. At that time their religious ideas and their implements were most probably the same as they are at present. They had the Kayak and the sledge. It is all but proved that they lived in large square houses, had domesticated the dog, which is practically the Arctic wolf, and it is more than possible that they had certain festivals which referred to the seasons or the sun. At that time they were fishermen, and were accustomed to the use of boats before they came to the frozen sea.<sup>6</sup> This much we can gather from the habits common to all of them, from the root words in their language, and from the legends which are so generally distributed amongst them. Where that country of origin

<sup>5</sup> "Om Eskimoernes Herkomst" (*Aarboeg for nord. Old. og Hist.* 1871, pp. 269-302): "Dialectes de la langue esquimaude" (*Compte-rendu du Congrès international des Americanistes*, 1883, pp. 328-337) and other papers, but more particularly his "Eskimo Tribes," which forms vol. xi. of the "Meddelelser om Grønland" (1887). I may perhaps be permitted to speak with some authority on the latter volume as the learned author did me the honour of submitting the manuscript to me day by day as he wrote it.

<sup>6</sup> Boas, *Science*, vol. x, p. 271.

was, may yet be ascertained by means of a study of the folk-lore of the Alaska Indians, and the names of animals in the different dialects. Meantime Dr. Rink seems not far from the truth when he indicates the rivers of Central Arctic America as the region from whence the Eskimo spread northward. Those of Alaska were probably the courses down which they spread, though the Mackenzie is not to be left out of the reckoning when this question is considered. They still frequent the lower reaches of these rivers, and a canoe or boat-using people would naturally adopt water ways in new migrations, as indeed do most of the tribes in this densely wooded or pathless region.

However, from whatever quarter they came, it is all but certain that when they took to the dreary region which is now their home, they were one body and came down one river. This may have happened thousands of years ago, though it was not effected all at once. At Point Barrow they must have been settled for a long period, since at the depth of twenty-six feet the American Expedition, which wintered there in 1882, found a pair of wooden goggles. At the same time the suggestion that the Eskimo followed up the retreating ice cap at the close of the glacial period is quite unsupported by anything in the shape of evidence. It is not at all improbable that the original progenitors of the race may have been a few isolated families, members of some small Indian tribe, or the decaying remnants of a larger one. Little by little they were expelled from their hunting and fishing grounds on the original river bank, until, finding no place amid the stronger tribes, they settled in a region where they were left to themselves. This hypothetical history is paralleled by what is known of many other tribes. All Indian history is full of similar instances of small septs being driven from their hunting grounds by stronger invaders. Indeed, the chronicles of the Eskimo themselves bear witness to the likelihood of this process having been their lot in earlier life. The fact of the Eskimo language having no relations with that of any neighbouring tribes is not at all remarkable. In the course of many centuries a savage tongue—and especially an Indian one—is apt to change. But if the explanation of the Eskimo leaving their original home which I have ventured to offer is approximately correct, the chances are that they were members of some small tribe who spoke an entirely different language from their neighbours, and that this isolation, this foreign element, had much to do with the prejudice which led to their expulsion. At this very day there are plenty of such detached communities, and the languages spoken in North



West America are so diverse that it is easy to understand the existence at some remote period of one more.

(4.) I shall not follow Dr. Rink in his elaborate investigation of the changes which the leading implements, articles of dress, houses, &c., of the Eskimo have undergone since the time the people began their wanderings from the shores of Alaska, eastward and westward, as these are so fully given in the memoirs mentioned that I can add very little to what he has written. Suffice it to say that there are almost no characteristics of the Western Eskimo which cannot be more or less fully detected among those of the East. Dr. Boas, who passed some time among the Davis Strait Eskimo, affirms that the use of masks representing mythical beings which is so curious a feature among the North-Western American tribes, is not entirely wanting in the Eastern Eskimo country, and that the giving away of property at certain festivals—the well-known “potlatches” of the Western coast Indians—and the use of the singing-houses with a central fire and places for the people all round the walls, may also be traced as far as Davis Strait. “It is even possible that the plan of the stone or snow houses of the Central Eskimo with elevated platforms on three sides of a central floor must be traced back to a square house similar to those of the Western tribes.” The “Kayak” Dr. Rink regards as an Arctic imitation of the birch bark canoe, covered with a skin deck to protect against the waves, and on some of the Alaska rivers the Eskimo still employ the birch bark canoe, though whether this is an evidence of their primitive culture or merely because birch bark is more easily obtained than seal skin is open to discussion. It is, however, not until we arrive in Greenland that the kayak can be regarded as perfect. North of the Yukon the “bidar” or double kayak is employed, though the single one is also in use, and, indeed, it is not until we pass the Mackenzie that the single kayak is exclusively used. One peculiarity of the Eskimo has only recently been noticed. That is the wearing of the brass and silver rings of which they are so fond on the middle finger. In Paul Egede’s *Eskimo Dictionary* (1750) *Kiterdlek* is defined as “annulus, quia Groenlandi annulum in *medio* digito gestare.” The same habit, Mr. Mardoch tells us, is in vogue at Point Barrow, the people there like the Greenlanders naming the ring from the finger, and the same fashion seems to prevail at the Mackenzie. Evidently, therefore, the Eskimo before their dispersal ornamented their hands with rings which they wore on the middle finger, and not on that which for ages the white race has considered as the ring finger.<sup>7</sup> I shall not touch on the

<sup>7</sup> Murdoch, *Science*, Vol. xi. p. 24.

folk-lore, beyond saying that the entire nation has much in common. This, however, is not disputed. It has also been found that many of the Alaskan stems, which are lost in the common language, still survive in the sacred dialect of the priests.

(5.) What Dr. Rink places most emphasis on is the similarity between the Eskimo implements in North-West America and those of the neighbouring tribes. Their houses, their sweating baths, their dialects, their masks, &c., are especially dwelt upon. The inflated seal skin or "drogue" employed as far south as the Aht people of Western Vancouver Island is even more remarkable, for this method of impeding the movements of the struck whale is everywhere found among the Eskimo. Nor are the spears less remarkable. They are used for spearing salmon, but in the arrangement for the point of "unshipping" as a sailor would say, they are identical with the Eskimo harpoon. They have a movable barb to which a line is always attached. When the fish is struck, the shaft is removed, and the salmon drawn in by the line to which the point is fastened. In deeper water, however, when the chance of missing the fish is greater owing to the refraction of the water they use a spear which has a double or additional head springing from the upper part of the shaft with its separate line attached. This is identical with the Eskimo spear with subsidiary points only, with this difference that the subsidiary point is a detachable harpoon head. The similarity of the Eskimo and the Indian spear is further shown by the fact that both use a few small bladders tied to the line in order to weary the fish by the effort of dragging them under water.<sup>8</sup> Curiously enough ancient spear heads found in the caves of Dordogne with their posterior terminations tapered like the bronze weapons, were not unlikely used in a similar manner, and both in Denmark and in England weapons not widely dissimilar have been unearthed. Something similar has indeed been found in India, and to this day the Hooghley fishermen harpoon tortoises with spears not widely different from those described.

(6.) The question, however, comes to be, whether these similarities between the weapons, &c., of the Western Eskimo and the Western Indians are to be ascribed, as Dr. Rink thinks, to the former people having taken with them to their Arctic asylum the knowledge and the memory of the peculiarities mentioned, or to the one race simply imitating the other owing to their living in such close prox-

<sup>8</sup> These spears are figured in *Proc. Scot. Soc. Antiquaries*, 1870, p. 295, and are more fully described in my friend Gilbert Sproat's *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (p. 221).

imity. Both these theories have much in their support, though the American ethnologists, so far as they have criticised Dr. Rink's views, seem inclined to the idea of the Eskimo having been influenced by the Indians. The reverse may, of course, have been the case—the Eskimo may have influenced them, and customs which MM. Boas and Murdoch regard as Indian may be in reality Eskimo,<sup>9</sup> for several of their habits, such as labrets, are so peculiar that they are not explicable on the hypothesis—applicable to implements, houses and dress—that two peoples placed in similar circumstances might adopt similar modes of life.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, though we may admit the reciprocal influence of the Alaska Indians and Eskimo—and the influence, if influence there has been, was unquestionably reciprocal<sup>11</sup>—it is not so easy to see in what respect the Eskimo could have affected the Indians so far south of these limits as on those of Vancouver Island. I do not place much moment by the traditions which Dr. Rink quotes as evidence of Eskimo influence on that part of the coast. The Aht stories of men lost in venturing to brave the mysterious dangers of the unknown interior of a fjord, cliffs able to clasp men, female murderers who took the shape of birds, or the sun and the moon as nomads, have, indubitably, elements also found in the Eskimo mythology. The story of the dog, who was the ancestor of certain tribes; the stories of children, who were deserted by their parents, and by-and-bye became prosperous by the aid of spirits, or the idea that animals are men clothed in the skins of beasts, are also common to the mythology of the North West Indians and Eskimo. But some of these tales are so widespread that they may be common to the entire American races; some even are Asiatic—Aino, for example. It may, however, be added that in one of the Iroquois traditions, collected by the late Mrs. Erminie Smith, there is a tale of a monster who used to sit on a rock, watching people passing, and

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Turner (*American Naturalist*, August, 1887), in criticising a brief paper of Dr. Rink's which I communicated to the Anthropological Institute (*Journal*, August, 1887, p. 68), lays stress on the fact that the Eskimo are not so exclusively a coast people as is usually supposed. This circumstance does not, it seems to me, at all effect the main argument.

<sup>10</sup> The best accounts of the Alaska Eskimo are those of Mr. Dall, in *Contributions to American Ethnology*, Vol. i., and Mr. Petroff in his *Alaska, its Population, Industries, and Resources*, pp. 124-160 (*Tenth Census of the United States*, Vol. viii).

<sup>11</sup> The influence of the Indians upon the Eskimo is shown by the fact of the Oughalakhmute (north and south of the Copper River), having abandoned the manufacture of the kayak, and apparently forgotten its construction, owing to the mixture with the neighbouring Kalosh or Thlinket. This case, however, stands alone.



when he saw men, he would call out: "Kung-Ka, Kung-Kuin," i.e., "I see thee, I see thee." Now the Greenlanders have a similar legend in which a girl, who fled to the fabulous inlanders, got one of them for her husband, and when, in the course of their wanderings, this individual sighted a settlement, he shouted: "Kung, Kung, Kujo," words unintelligible to the present Greenlanders. These may, however, be coincidences. Yet the existence of distinct references in the mythology of the British Columbia Indians, to a country in the west, where the sea is always covered with ice, where the nights are very long, and where the people use skin boats, combined with the identical character of their most remarkable implements, leads us to the conclusion that the relationship is of a closer description than might, at first sight, be imagined. That the Eskimo spread as far south as Vancouver Island is, I think, extremely improbable, but that the Ahts and others races came from a region in the north in close proximity to the country of the Eskimo, with whom they were previously acquainted, is more than possible. This, however, is mere speculation, and need not be further dwelt on in an article which does not claim much more than to restate other men's views. What is the relationship between the two great branches of the North American peoples still remains to be discovered. But as the New World is no longer dependent on the Old one for trained ethnologists, we may rest assured that something of importance will be brought to light before many years elapse.

(7.) It may, however, be taken as proved (a) that the Eskimo are in no respect and never were a European people; (b) that they are not and never were an Asiatic one, except to the small extent already described; (c) that the handful of people settled on the Siberian shore migrated from America, and (d) that it is very probable the Eskimo came from the interior of Arctic America, Alaska more likely than from any other part of the world. It is also clear that they migrated eastward until Greenland was reached, but that the migration was not of the nature of a sudden dispersal, if a dispersal at all, but simply the hiving off of a few families at a time as the necessity of finding fresh hunting and fishing grounds became pressing. Sometimes the migration might have been stimulated by tribal quarrels, or by the presence of other races in their rear, as happened when the Onkilon were expelled by the Tchukchi.

But whatever view may be held on the subject—and opinion is gradually growing in the direction just indicated—none can be held

which ascribes a European or even a wide Asiatic range to the Eskimo. Yet a doctrine was promulgated not long ago, and is still held in certain quarters, which would make the Eskimo essentially a European people. I refer to Professor Boyd Dawkin's well-known theory that the Palæolithic men who inhabited Europe towards the close of the Pleistocene Age were the people with whom the preceding pages treat, and that they were gradually exterminated or driven from Europe by the Neolithic folk, who about that period made their appearance.<sup>12</sup> This is a conclusion so sweeping that it is hard to accept it without the clearest proofs. And these proofs have never been forthcoming in sufficient cogency to permit us to accept it on the mere authority of the author, deservedly great though that unquestionably is. If the Neolithic man drove his Palæolithic brother before him, we must expect to find traces of him on the way north. But these traces have not been discovered though a people so fond of carving and who used weapons of flint and bone might be depended upon for leaving behind them many such aids to their future historian. They did not make their homes in Orkney or Shetland, in the Faroes or in Iceland, in Jan Mayen or Spitzbergen, and the Lapps and Samoyedes of the Arctic shore of Europe are not of the Eskimo family. It is also impossible to imagine that an inland people could cross the Atlantic to Greenland, as no savage has done so yet—even if the history of the Eskimo sketched in this paper did not prove that Greenland was peopled from the west, not from the east. This test, therefore, fails us at the very outset. Again, the Palæolithic man did not burn his dead any more than the Eskimo do. Are the skulls of these folk of the Eskimo type? We have the highest authority—that of .MM. Hamy and Quatrefages—for saying that they are not. They belong to the same type as those of the Berbers of North Africa, who were also the original though now extinct inhabitants of the Canaries and Teneriffe, and were in former times, as they are still in North Africa, one of the most widely spread of peoples.<sup>13</sup> The evidence adduced by Mr. Dawkins—of whom I desire to speak with all the respect due to an admirable investigator and writer—is indeed by no means satisfactory, even if it were not refuted by facts so irresistible as those mentioned. The data on which he relies are mainly the similarity of the harpoons,

<sup>12</sup> *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xxiii., p. 183; and *Early Man in Britain*, pp. 233-245.

<sup>13</sup> This question is lucidly discussed from the geological point of view by Professor James Geikie in his *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 547. See also Quatrefages' *Human Species*, p. 311.

fowling spears, marrow spoons, and scrapers, "the habit of sculpturing animals on their implements, the absence of pottery, the same method of crushing the bones of the animals slain in hunting, and their accumulation in one spot, the carelessness about the remains of their dead relatives, the fact that the food consisted chiefly of reindeer, mixed with the flesh of other animals, such as musk-sheep, and especially the small stature, as proved in the people of the Dordogne caverns by the small handled dagger figured by MM. Lartet and Christy."

Some of these "characteristics" are by no means common to the Eskimo race; numbers of them, indeed all the most salient, are found among people in no way related to the Eskimo, and who live, and have alway lived, in widely different parts of the world. Many of the implements or drawings of them were submitted to me for my opinion before they were described in MM. Lartet and Christy's great *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*. Some of them looked like Eskimo tools: several were just as near others in use among the Western Indians, who inhabit a country not unlike Palæolithic Europe. People must, of course, live on what they can get. Hence the evidence deduced from the ancient Europeans devouring reindeer and musk oxen as some of the Eskimo do—though seal is the food of the majority, simply because there is nothing else to be had—may be left out of the reckoning. Again, the Eskimo are far more careful about their dead than hosts of other savages who could be named (the Tierra del Fuegians for example), while it is a traditional error to affirm that the Eskimo are a remarkably small race of men: this idea arises from their style of dress; while, as a detail, the Cro-Magnon bones show the Palæolithic folk to have been rather tall. As for the habit of sculpturing animals on their implements, that is not peculiar to them; indeed this taste declines as we pass from Alaska to the East, until in Western Greenland there is not much evidence of the people having at any time possessed great skill in carving. However, the recent Danish expedition to the east coast has met with a small isolated tribe who almost rival the Alaska and Northern British Columbia Indians in their deftness for carving on bone, and ornamenting their weapons and domestic utensils. But instead of illustrating the animals of the chase or their own life, this East Greenland sept excel in small reliefs representing for the most part animals and mythological beings after the style of those marvellous works executed by the Hydahs, Kaloshes and other North-West American tribes on the ear bones of whales, and on pieces of soft slate.



This leaves us where we were. Many other peoples, the Polynesians and Papuans, for example, are infinitely more adroit in carving than the Eskimo, who only use bone as the material for their rude art because they have no wood. What artistic skill is displayed by the Greenlanders is in the shape of rude drawings on the white tanned seal skin of their summer tents; but these are in no way superior to the paintings on the wigwams of the Plain Indians, or on the lodge boards or posts of the tribes to the west of the Rocky Mountains. I have had the honour of being limned on all three, and the caricatures were quite recognisable, as the artists were good enough to explain.

ROBERT BROWN.

### SONSHIP AND INHERITANCE.

THE purest form of the most archaic system of reckoning kinship, namely, through the female line, is best illustrated by an example from one of the hill tribes of India—the Kocch—Mr. Hodgson describing how the mother is the head of the family, how the daughters succeed to the mother's property and the sons have no part or right in the succession, but leave their maternal home and live with their wives.<sup>1</sup> Between this form of succession and its exact opposite—the system of reckoning kinship through males, familiar to all of us, both in the parallel to the above and in the several varying types—there must have been many transitional stages which, when examined, would serve to throw light upon the processes which marked the period of change from female to male kinship.

One of the earliest results of such an examination seems to direct attention to the fact that the first innovation upon pure female kinship could not have been the assertion of husband-rights, and in all probability was the recognition of sonship. If we consider two very general modes of succession: (1) by a wife's son by any husband among tribes practising polyandry, and (2) by sister's son among tribes practising polygamy, we are forced to look upon the husband as a temporary co-owner of the property with his wife or sister, and to conclude that the determining factor in the rule of succession

<sup>1</sup> Hodgson's *Essays on Indian Subjects*, i. 110. Mr. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 116-118, quotes many tribes who adopt this form of succession, and the reader will know that it is found in varying degrees of form in many parts of the world.

was certainly not paternity. It was, on the other hand, not exactly maternity, because under the oldest system this would have led on to daughter succession. The new element is clearly therefore the recognition of sonship. That sonship preceded the full establishment of male kinship is a proposition which meets the theory of the case remarkably well, the only question is, can it be substantiated by evidence? In the first place, an essential argument in its favour is that it is a force which can certainly account for the downfall of female kinship, because the influences which its operation would generate would all tend towards the recognition of males. In the second place, it can be shown that the transition period from female to male kinship may be traced by customs yet surviving, and that these customs are best explained by a reference to the early importance of sonship.

Two such customs have been already touched upon by authorities. Bachofen was the first to point to the remarkable custom of the *couvade* as a ceremonial which marked the change to male kinship—the father taking upon himself the attributes of the mother in order to demonstrate his relationship to the child.<sup>2</sup> Mr. McLennan in his remarkable study of “sonship among the Hindoos,”<sup>3</sup> proves beyond a doubt that early sonship was by no means necessarily connected with paternity, but that a father having by contract or purchase obtained a wife, the children of that wife were *ipso facto* his children, though it did not follow that he was their father—that is, while the wife’s right to her children was based upon blood-kinship, the husband’s was based upon contract, and hence implies the non-recognition of blood-kinship. What I am anxious to note in these two phenomena of early history—the *couvade* and Hindoo sonship—is, that though kinship had nominally passed over to the male side, yet still the older rights of female kinship were in reality the determining force by which succession by a male, though through a female, was settled. In order to follow this out more narrowly we will set down the conditions by which early sonship was surrounded. These conditions are as follows:

- i. female kinship absolute [accompanied by female succession.]
- ii. modifications arising from, and marked by, recognition of sonship, viz.:

<sup>2</sup> *Lang Custom and Myth*, ii. 223; Frazer *Totemism*, 78, and other authorities follow Bachofen in this explanation. Cf. Pearson’s *Ethics of Free Thought*, 407.

<sup>3</sup> *The Patriarchal Theory*, 266-312.

(a) male going to wife's home producing succession by

- (1) wife's son by any husband,
- (2) wife's son by a particular husband.

(b) male receiving wife at his own house producing succession by

- (3) sister's son,
- (4) wife's son.

In the three first of these conditions maternal sonship is the determining factor of succession; in the fourth, where it has passed from sister's son to wife's son, paternal sonship is recognised and true kinship through males is established. But in all four conditions it must be noted that the constant factor is not maternity or paternity, but sonship.

Now if we consider the custom of the *couvade* and its applicability to the above conditions, it must, I think, be seen that the man practising *couvade* represents not his wife but his sister—in other words, it marks the transition from succession by sister's son to succession by own and wife's son. The father is of the same blood as his sister, who has hitherto had the right of giving succession, and his wife is of alien blood. By this symbolic act he passes the blood of his sister to his own son, and thereby secures the succession to him.

Similarly if we consider the process of transition from the stage where a wife's son by any husband could succeed, to the stage where a wife's son by a particular husband took the succession, we shall find it marked by equally significant customs derived from the strong influence of female kinship. We may consider them in connection with the conditions set forth above, wherein the male taking up his abode in his wife's house and being of alien blood to her, would be out-valued by his children. Thus we have the idea among the New Zealanders, and in many parts of Polynesia, that as soon as a son was born he was recognised as superior to his progenitor.<sup>4</sup> Sir John Lubbock has collected many examples of the custom of parents being named after their eldest son, which indicates a similar origin.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the rights of children, established in Aryan codes of legal custom so soon as they are born and extending to vested rights in the father's property,<sup>6</sup> seem all to be derived

<sup>4</sup> Polacks, *New Zealanders*, i. 27; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 465.

<sup>5</sup> *Origin of Civilization*, 466-467.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 464; J. G. Frazer in *Academy*, March 6th, 1886.



from their kinship with their mother, the father and his acquired position being considered an encroachment upon the more ancient condition of things, and, therefore, hedged round by customs, all of which tend in the direction of limiting his powers in questions of succession.

The full force of this will appear in the custom whereby the son succeeds to property or title during the lifetime of his father. Among the Marquesas, and in Tahiti, the king abdicated as soon as a son was born to him, "while landowners under similar circumstances lost the fee simple of their land, and became mere trustees for the infant possessors."<sup>7</sup> I fancy the terminology here used by Sir John Lubbock is hardly applicable to the condition of savagery to which he is referring, but it properly indicates the scope of the custom because we meet with it among civilized nations. We will first notice the custom as it exists in India, because it will help to explain the significance of the survival in European custom. In the Kangra district of the Punjab, among the people of Spiti, the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age, and has taken unto himself a wife . . . on each estate there is a kind of dower-house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there he is called the *Káng Chumpa* (small-house man).<sup>8</sup> The same custom is observed in Ladak with scarcely any variation.<sup>9</sup> The Scandinavian parallel to this has been described by Mr. Du Chaillu, in a passage which I think contains portions of the old formula and rights attending the ceremony. "On a visit to Husum, an important event took place, when, according to immemorial custom, the farm was to come into the possession of the eldest son. The dinner being ready, all the members of the family came in and seated themselves around the board, the father taking, as is customary, the head of the table. All at once, Roar, who was not seated, came to his father and said: 'Father, you are getting old; let me take your place.' 'Oh no, my son,' was the answer, 'I am not too old to work; it is not yet time: wait awhile.' Then with an entreating look Roar said, 'Oh, father, all your children and myself are often sorry to see you look so tired when the day's labour is over: the work of the farm is too much for you; it is time for you to rest and do nothing. Rest in your old age. Oh, let me take your place at the head of the table.' All the faces were now extremely sober, and tears were seen in many eyes

<sup>7</sup> *Origin of Civilization*, 465.

<sup>8</sup> Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, ii. 188.

<sup>9</sup> [Moorcroft and Trebecks *Travels*. i. 320] M'Lennan *Studies in Anc. Hist.*, 108.

'Not yet, my son.' 'Oh yes, father.' Then said the whole family: 'Now it is time for you to rest.' He rose, and Roar took his place and was then the master. His father, henceforth, would have nothing to do, was to live in a comfortable house, and to receive yearly a stipulated amount of grain or flour, potatoes, milk, cheese, butter, meat, &c."<sup>10</sup>

In Wurtemberg and Bavaria similar customs are found. On larger peasant farms in Wurtemberg "the eldest son commonly succeeds to the whole property, often in the father's lifetime. When the parent is incapacitated by age from managing his farm, he retires to a small cottage, generally on the property, and receives from his son in possession contributions towards his support both in money and kind."<sup>11</sup> There can be no question that in these examples of life succession we have different types of the same original, and it is probable that the ceremonial in the Scandinavian custom, extraneous and unnecessary as it appears to be, is the survival of some old formula that is perhaps lost in the other examples.<sup>12</sup> But if the retention of the formula in the European type points to it as being more perfect in form, the Indian examples preserve a far more important link with the past. In the former the son succeeds because his father is too old to continue his labours; in the latter the son succeeds when he is of full age, and is married. This is very significant taken in conjunction with the fact that, both in Spiti and in the contiguous district of Ladak, the form of marriage is polyandry,<sup>13</sup> and that too in a state of decadence. If we may conclude that the decadence of polyandry, meaning therefore, the decadence of kinship through females, brings about the accentuation of the position of sonship, resulting in life succession, we may also conclude that the European examples take us back to the period when polyandry had only just fallen into decadence.

<sup>10</sup> Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, i. 393.

<sup>11</sup> Cobden Club Essays, *Primogeniture*, 79-80.

<sup>12</sup> In *Archæologia*, L. 203. I explained this custom as a survival of the practice of getting rid of the aged and infirm, and though it now appears to me to be rather due to the influences of sonship, as I have noted them in this article, it may well be, taking all the circumstances into consideration, that both these primitive practices had a share in determining the origin and persistence of this custom. The curious part is that in no case is the mother mentioned. This may be by accident, but if she retained her place in the son's household, either actually or symbolically, the origin of the custom would be unquestionably settled. It is not unimportant to note that in South Africa the mother of the eldest son, after she has ceased bearing children to her husband, leaves her husband and lives with her son. See *Report on Native Laws and Customs* (Cape of Good Hope Parliament), appendix part ii. p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> M'Lennan's *Studies in Ancient History*, 97; compare Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, ii. 191.

It seems clear that the facts connected with early sonship want close examination. The rights of sons in savage and early barbaric society were very far from being insignificant, though there is nothing to bring about this state of things except the necessities of early society. Among many of the backward races we find an undue recognition of sonship and an undue degradation of daughtership, as for instance, in the Peshawar district of India, where the birth of a male child is an occasion of great rejoicing and feasting, and the birth of a female is considered as a misfortune,<sup>14</sup> and this forms an instructive commentary upon the world-wide practice of female infanticide. What the full causes of female infanticide were we may probably never be able to decide, but probably one of the most powerful was the accentuation of sonship.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

<sup>14</sup> *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, 1883-4, p. 87.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE RACES OF FORMOSA.

[Ante pp. 182-183.]

SIR,—With reference to the races of Formosa and their antiquities, about which you have published an extract from a Parliamentary paper in your last issue, I beg to remark that we know much more about them than the report seems to imply. Your readers may consult: *Formose et ses habitants*, by Mr. Girard de Rialle, in *Revue d'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1885, vol. viii., pp. 58-77, 247-281, and my later *Formosa Notes*, in *MSS., Languages and Races*, reprinted (London, D. Nutt, 8vo, 82 pp. and 3 plates) from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1887, vol. xix.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

May 2, 1888.



## Archæology.

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### *RECENT DISCOVERIES OF PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS IN SPAIN.*

**S**PAIN has hitherto been almost a sealed book to English archæologists, partly because of the supineness of her rulers, who have offered no encouragement to the prosecution of research, and partly because books written in Spanish, are not readily mastered by English readers; therefore the noble work just published in French by two young Belgian engineers — MM. Henri et Louis Siret—will be doubly welcome. It is entitled "*Les Premiers Ages du Métal dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne,*" and consists of a splendid folio of seventy plates illustrative of all the objects discovered, with a short description of each plate, accompanied by a large volume of letterpress.

The brothers Siret having been employed in engineering operations in the provinces of Almeria and Murcia, undertook on their own account the exploration of many prehistoric sites in the south-east corner of Spain, between Carthagera and Almeria, extending for about 75 kilometres in length, by 35 in width, inland from the Mediterranean coast.

Referring to a map, we shall see that this part of the coast would be just that likely to be approached by vessels from the east, and as it is an undoubted fact that the Phœnicians had considerable intercourse with Spain in very early times, we should expect to find traces of them in many parts; but whether these finds are of Phœnician origin or ancient Iberian, remains to be proved.

Some of the discoveries of MM. Siret go back to a period antedating the arrival of the Phœnicians; they belong to the Neolithic age, all the implements found being of polished stone, and there being no trace of metal. Nevertheless, even in these early times, the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula were not without a certain amount of civilisation, for in addition to flint implements of a form almost universal, we find traces of pottery roughly ornamented, and of shells bored for necklaces and pendants; there are also stones for grinding corn and traces of burial by inhumation. In other graves also of the Neolithic period, though perhaps of a rather later date, these things are supplemented by large vessels of pottery with

perforated handles; sharks' teeth; large cowrie shells perforated; round beads cut from shells, resembling those forming the wampum of the North American Indians, and still used in the South Sea Islands; also shell-bracelets made of rings cut from large shells, similar to those still in use in New Guinea, the Admiralty Islands, and many other groups of the Pacific. Some of these bracelets appear to have been cut in two, and holes bored at each end for suspension. There seems to be a total absence of anything denoting religion or superstition among these very early relics, unless the curious object resembling a rude cross, and which M. Siret has compared with some of the owl-headed divinities of Dr. Schliemann, may represent some sort of fetish. This object belongs to a very early period, but among the later relics are a few small animal forms in pottery, similar to those which may be seen in the British Museum among the Cypriote remains, and which have also been found in Swiss Lake dwellings, and among numerous other prehistoric finds, and which may either have been intended to represent animal fetishes or totems, or possibly may have served as children's toys.<sup>1</sup> The sepulchres of these very early prehistoric people of South-East Spain, seem to have resembled those common to Neolithic peoples in other parts of Europe—that is, the dead were buried in a crouching position, either in natural rock shelters or caves, or in rude stone cists consisting of slabs of stone, roughly placed together, perhaps sometimes covered with a mound of earth, and having vessels of half-burned clay, flint weapons, and ornaments of shell, or beads of stone or bone, buried with the body. At a later period the dead were sometimes cremated and sometimes inhumed, whilst the relics found with the human remains show an advance, not only in the shape and quality of the pottery, but also in the beads, shells, and flint implements in use, and there are traces of the beginning of a knowledge of metals in ornaments and implements of native copper, and a few articles of bronze, chiefly beads and bracelets, probably of foreign origin, perhaps showing the commencement of Phœnician intercourse. The copper articles are, however, undoubtedly of native manufacture, since scorix of copper have been found, and also the moulds into which the metal was run, but the teachers of this advance in the arts of civilisation were most likely foreigners.

From this transition stage, the progress in art of these prehistoric

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Callaway, whose experience among the Zulus is so well known, recently gave me a small clay model of an ox made by a native Zulu boy, and used essentially as a toy, not a totem.—Ed.

Spanish people as discovered by MM. Siret increases rapidly in interest, for they have found in this early age of metal, not only the sepulchres, but the villages of these ancient people situated on hills, with well-built walls of stone and mud, forming strong fortifications, within which were the houses, also enclosed in walls; and in these houses, in addition to various utensils in pottery, were found the remains of the food of the inhabitants, consisting of corn and vegetables, enclosed in vessels of baked earth, showing that they had become agriculturists as well as metallurgists. These vessels contained barley and wheat, and that which had probably been bread; also peas or beans, fruit, flowers, and leaves of trees, olives, a pod of carouba, fragments of linen and of mats and cords made of esparto grass. All these articles were calcined, showing that the habitations had been destroyed by fire, which seems to have been the common fate of so many prehistoric dwellings everywhere, either the result of accident or of invasion, but which, however caused, has had the good result of preserving these perishable articles for the benefit of prying archaeologists.

Within the walls of these fortified villages the remains of the dead were inhumed, sometimes within the houses, in little chambers of hewn slabs of stone carefully joined, but enclosed in large urns of pottery, measuring sometimes a metre in length by 60 to 70 centimetres in diameter at the largest part, and 40 to fifty at the mouth. In this great urn the body was placed in a crouching position, the knees drawn up to the breast and the chin resting on the hands; occasionally two bodies were found in the same urn, a male and a female, and with them small urns, probably food vessels and arms of bronze or copper, such as swords or halberds of a peculiar form, whilst the bodies were profusely adorned, especially those of the women, with ornaments of various kinds, necklaces consisting of beads of serpentine, steatite, bone, ivory, shells, fish vertebrae, gold, copper and bronze; rings of silver on the fingers, bracelets of copper, silver or bronze in spirals on the arms, ear-rings of silver and bronze, and circlets or coronets of silver on the forehead. The latter are especially curious, and would seem to be unique, so that a more detailed description may interest our readers. They are found only on the skulls of females, and are formed of a band of silver, gradually increasing in size towards the front, and terminating not in a point but in a prolonged projection, ending in a round boss. These diadems or coronets are found sometimes standing up, and sometimes with the round part down over the nose.<sup>2</sup> Their use was evidently to confine the veil,

<sup>2</sup> These curious coronets recall to the mind forcibly the scripture phrase lifting



fragments of cloth adhering to the skull beneath them, whilst similar fragments, in various positions, show that the dead were enveloped in some sort of grave-clothes. The mouth of these urns, which were generally found lying on their side, was carefully closed by a large stone, or sometimes by another urn. Peculiar interest attaches to the discovery of so many articles of silver, because it has been generally supposed, that silver was unknown in the early ages of metal, and did not make its appearance much before the iron age,<sup>3</sup> but the MM. Siret have found in the course of their investigations seven of the coronets or diadems described above in silver, buried with the dead, 400 bracelets, rings and ear-rings in the same metal, and also several implements and rivets for weapons. The weapons are of bronze and copper, the latter predominating, proving that these interments must be referred to the early bronze age, although flint arrow heads and saws were still used. No particle of iron has been found, no coins, no inscriptions; and very little gold in comparison with the silver, the record being, only 8 bracelets, rings and ear-rings of gold, as against the 400 of the same ornaments in silver. The silver diadems seem to be something quite apart, but we must observe that diadems in gold, somewhat similar in design, although without the distinctive ball, have been found in other parts of Spain, and they all seem to bear an affinity to those curious *annulæ* of gold, found occasionally in Britain, Ireland, and in Etruria.

These discoveries are also remarkable for the number of articles in copper, which include 70 axes and 30 arrow-heads in addition to many knives, poignards, awls, beads and ear-rings in the same metal, which as antiquaries know is seldom found pure among the ancient implements and weapons of Europe, but much more frequently in America. Then again among the beads many are made of steatite and serpentine, which latter we believe to be an unusual material, and although abundant in Spain must be very difficult to work and to bore, especially with flint or even bronze tools. The borings were sometimes from one end only, and sometimes from both ends; meeting in the middle, and one bead is figured in the plates, in which the two borings do not coalesce. Probably some of the small finely pointed flint implements were used for this purpose.

It is a matter of great interest to ascertain whether these fortified up the horn, and we wonder whether here also the upturned coronet denoted exaltation in rank.

<sup>3</sup> M. de Rougemont in *L'age du bronze en l'Occident* says it is a very remarkable fact that silver is entirely absent north of the Alps in the bronze age, whilst known very anciently in the East.

hill-villages on the sea coast, with their singular remains, are relics of the aborigines of the Spanish Peninsula, in a state of gradually developing civilisation, or whether they are the remains of a foreign settlement, established in the peninsula for the sake of the metals obtainable from the surrounding country, and fortified against the natives? The latter is of course the hypothesis which will be most readily accepted, the known connection of the Phœnicians with the Iberian Peninsula, their commerce along the shores of the Mediterranean, and their skill in metallurgy, would naturally lead to the conclusion that the MM. Siret have unearthed some early Phœnician settlements; another point in favour of which, is the evident honour bestowed upon women by these unknown people. Not only are they buried with care with all their jewels, but also sometimes in the same urn with the man who presumably was their husband. These ladies with their veils and diadems, bracelets and ear-rings were doubtless princesses, perhaps even, judging from the story of Dido, they may have been leaders of the various expeditions, and founders of colonies, as represented by the hill villages; a curious point in connection with which may be here noticed. Sculptures representing Phœnician galleys were discovered by Layard, and are figured in the "*History of Art in Phœnicia and its Dependencies*" by Perrot and Chipiez. In these galleys, two in number, the centre of the upper deck is occupied in both cases by women wearing veils, confined by a metal band or fillet, which might readily be taken to represent the diadem of the Spanish ladies, discovered by MM. Siret; the warriors sit behind these ladies bareheaded, their shields hanging on the side of the vessel, and the rowers are seated on a lower deck. This would seem to show that Dido was neither the first, nor the last of her race, to go forth like the queen bee from the parent hive to found new colonies in foreign lands, but that it was common for Phœnician warriors or merchants, to be accompanied on their expeditions by their wives. This, if proved, would be a very important factor in maintaining the purity of the race, and a comparison between the skulls of the dwellers—male and female—in these fortified hill-villages, with those in the older neolithic settlements in the same locality, should enable anthropologists to speak authoritatively as to the identity or dissimilarity between them, and to decide whether the later remains are those of foreigners, and if so, to what race they may be assigned.<sup>4</sup>

But whether aboriginal or foreign, it is clear that the brothers

<sup>4</sup> MM. Siret have been able to obtain 80 skulls in good preservation from the various settlements.

Siret have made some very important discoveries, marking the progress from a purely neolithic stage, to one in which bronze had become common, but iron was unknown, and where, contrary to that which has been usually observed elsewhere, silver was more common than gold. This is accounted for by the fact that at a place called Herrerias at the foot of the Sierra Almagrera, about three Kilometres from the Mediterranean coast, spongy masses of native silver have been found at a depth of only 40 metres. In all probability this deposit was known to the Phœnicians, who Sir John Lubbock believes were acquainted with the mineral fields of Spain and Britain between 1500 and 1200 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> and we are told in the article upon Phœnicia in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (New Edition) that "The great centre of Phœnician colonisation was the Western half of the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic coasts to the right and left of the straits. In especial the trade with the Guadalquivir Tarshish (or Tartessus) made the commercial greatness of the Phœnicians, being rich in fisheries (tunny and murcena), but also in silver and other metals, and vessels returning from Spain had often silver anchors."<sup>6</sup>

Another point which would seem to connect the relics found with the Phœnicians, is the presence in some of the later graves, of beads apparently of glass, nevertheless the MM. Siret incline to the opinion that the relics they have discovered are those of an advancing indigenous civilisation, fostered and influenced by intercourse with Phœnicia, and this is also the opinion of Dr. John Evans, who looks upon these finds as some of the most important of modern times, in which opinion all who examine these splendid volumes will agree. But we cannot help expressing a belief that further investigations, and especially skull measurements, will show that although the earlier neolithic settlements were in all probability indigenous, the fortified hill-villages of the bronze age, represent foreign settlements, probably very early Phœnician, but possibly Greek, Egyptian or Etruscan. Pomponius Mela relates that Cadiz was founded by the Tyrians not long after the siege of Troy, and these relics would seem to belong to a period quite as remote, judging from the total absence of iron, coins and inscriptions. The changes in the mode of sepulture point to a long period of time and to foreign intercourse, for nothing is so persistent among races

<sup>5</sup> See *Prehistoric Times*, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Considering the number of shells found there is a curious absence of implements of fishing. We do not remember a single fish-hook represented in the plates.



as burial customs; and here we get, first, simple inhumation in caves; then cremation and inhumation apparently co-existing, in cists covered with rough stone slabs; and lastly, a return to inhumation, but in urns again enclosed in cists constructed with care, of slabs of hewn stone. Urn burial is very widely distributed, but in most cases the bones placed in the urns were cremated. Here, however, the bodies were buried entire, and sometimes two in one urn as before noticed, children were also buried in smaller urns. The Phœnicians are known to have had various forms of burial, that in urns being one, and in the British Museum may be seen two immense urns from the Necropolis in Rhodes, in which probably the body was buried entire, a custom which the Rhodians may have derived from Phœnicia, and which points to a similar origin for the Spanish examples. In Ireland also if we mistake not, large burial urns have been found containing unburnt bodies, and singularly enough there are many other striking analogies between the finds of MM. Siret and many Irish antiquities, giving a semblance of truth to the ancient Irish legends which bring the earliest inhabitants of the Emerald Isle from Spain, and many of the later colonists, Fomorians, Nemedians, Firbolgs, Tuatha de Dannans, etc., either from Spain or the *East*—by which term may be understood Greece or other Mediterranean countries. This is a subject which has never yet been properly investigated, but which is full of interest; we are too apt to ignore or ridicule ancient legends, which often contain buried grains of truth of infinite value in elucidating the mysteries of prehistoric archæology.

We must not omit to notice the finely made pottery which forms such an important part of the collection of the MM. Siret, the specimens numbering 1300. The earlier vases are of coarse clay, yellow or red in colour and roughly ornamented with dots and lines, but the later are elegant and varied in form, black or reddish brown in colour, and although showing no trace of the potter's wheel, are skilfully turned by hand, whilst the great urns used for burial must have required immense skill and care in the manufacture; spindle-whorls are also found.

A jury of archæologists at Barcelona, in awarding a prize to MM. Siret, thus sums up the scope of the work: "The prize work written in French and enriched by great volumes of plates, in which are drawn with great perfection, the protohistoric objects spoken of in the text, is of considerable scientific value and importance, and is worthy of being placed in the first rank of works of the kind. It passes in review

and examines the noteworthy discoveries recently made by the authors in many localities in the South East of the peninsula, describing in a wonderful way the art of building, the metallurgy, the arms and utensils used by the primitive inhabitants of Spain, making known to us an advanced civilisation at so remote a period, as to justify the eulogies of Strabo on the riches and intellectual culture of the Turdetans. The manner of life, religious and political, the worship of the dead, whose remains were retained close to the domestic hearth, the use of the precious metals, gold and silver, at the same time as stone, and of pure copper and bronze, have opened up new ideas in regard to the protohistory of man in ancient Iberia. If science, which is always based upon facts, can obtain in other parts of Spain discoveries as noteworthy as these, explored, discussed and explained in as masterly a manner as by the authors of this prize work, the jury does not doubt that the systematic theories which treat of the first inhabitants of the peninsula will soon become clear and evident certainties."

A. W. BUCKLAND.

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### *THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN RUSSIA.*

THE chief difficulty in treating the question of the origin and growth of village communities in Russia lies in the want of documentary information before the beginning of the sixteenth century, at which period the system of serfdom was already operative.<sup>1</sup> This coincidence of village communities and serfdom seems to give reason to those who, with Fustel de Coulanges and Seebohm, proclaim the servile character of the first. It is not to be marvelled at, therefore, if some Russian historians, Professor Chicherin amongst others, have taken the same view as to the origin of the "mir," and have tried to establish that it was a posterior invention, introduced by and in the interests of the landlords. If we ask ourselves, what advantage such a system of land-holding

<sup>1</sup> The recent researches of Professor Kluchevsky of Moscow, have established this valuable fact, that long before the time of Boris Godunov, the chief creator of serfdom in Russia, personal dependence was established and maintained not so much by law as custom.

could serve, we are unable to answer this question otherwise than by referring to the principle of mutual responsibility in the fulfilment of the agricultural work and the payment of natural rents, which united all the serfs of one manor in a sort of corporate society. But what reason have we to affirm that this principle could not have been established without any reference to periodical redistribution of shares among the villagers? Have we no instances of it in the Roman municipal corporations, in the fiscal arrangements of ancient France, or modern Mussulman countries, not to speak of India, where it has been maintained without interruption from the time of the great Mogul?

But we have no reason to think that mutual responsibility and the system of village communities were introduced in Russia at the same time, the former being the necessary result of the latter. The interest of the landlord, as well as of the state, required only the establishment of the first, and had nothing to do with the mode of allotment of ground among the villagers. And if a proof of what seems to be a self-evident proposition is wanted, we may mention the fact, that mutual responsibility in matters of taxation, as well as in the fulfilment of servile obligations, was maintained for centuries even in those parts of Russia where the village community system was inoperative; as, for instance, in New Russia, comprising the southern governments lying on the shores of the Black Sea.

Although the theory I have just criticised is, on the whole, a failure, we must acknowledge to its chief propounders the merit of having brought forward a considerable number of facts, leaving no doubt as to the non-existence in mediæval Russia of the system of run-rig allotments, which chiefly characterises the now prevailing form of communal property. On the whole, we have no right to say that the village community was unknown to our remote forefathers, but we may assert, without fear of being contradicted, that they completely ignored the present mode of allotment of shares, all the information that the old Cadasters (the so-called *piscovii knigi*) give us on this subject pointing to the contrary.

Now, if we ask ourselves, what was the prevailing system of landholding in the centuries previous to the period of documentary information, we shall not be far from truth in saying that it was the same which characterises every patriarchal society: I mean the undivided ownership of the house-community, something like the one that under the name of "*Zadruga* or *Bratstvo*," is still operative among the southern Slavonians, and is recorded in Latin documents of the thirteenth century in Poland, under the name of "*communio*



fratrum et parentum." Family communities of this description are to be found as survivals in some interior governments of Russia, as those of Koursk, Ore and Saratov, and, what is of much greater importance, they are mentioned in the Prawda of Jaroslav (a sort of Mirror of Justice, very like the *Leges Barbarorum* of the continental Germans) and constituting the oldest Russian code (twelfth century). This sort of community is known to the Prawda under the same name as South Slavonian documents, especially those of Dalmatia, employ in speaking of the family community, the name of *Verv*.<sup>2</sup> As this word is far from being the only one the legislator has borrowed from the south Slavonic dialect, the supposition of Professor Kluchevsky as to the nationality of the person entrusted with the work of codification seems to be very plausible. The newly converted Russians, being ignorant of the art of writing, a foreigner, acquainted with the use of the Slavonic alphabet, was charged with the difficult task of codifying the legal customs and princely orders, thus presenting us with the first very unsystematical summary of our law. Not sufficiently versed in the tongue of the people for whom he had to write, the compiler sometimes used expressions that were familiar to him in the country from which he came. Among them we find the one that renders the idea of family-community. The text, where it is to be found, speaks of persons leaving the community (the "*verv*"), in which they have lived before. It establishes the rule, that in such a case their previous associates have nothing to pay for them in future, all their pecuniary responsibilities have to be supported from thence entirely by themselves. A prescription of the same kind may be found in the *Lex Salica*. [*tit. de chrenecruda*.] Not a single word is said in the Prawda about the rights of individuals on the undivided property of the family or "*verv*." The legislator had not to interfere with questions of every-day life, too well known to those who had the benefit of his work. His task was limited to the establishment of rules for cases of litigation; and the family property, not being subjected to partition, was therefore not brought within the sphere of his observations.

Not much more is to be found about the mode of family ownership in the cadasters, or better to say rolls of the hearth-tax of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries; besides the fact of mentioning the house community as the direct subject of taxation, those documents do not say a single word on the subject we are anxious to ascertain. The

<sup>2</sup> The same name is to be found in the statute of Politza, a mediæval Dalmatian Republic.

term they employ to design the house community is the same as that we find in the old French cadasters, the so-called "*dénombrements de feux*," it is the word "*ognische*," corresponding to the French "*feu*" (fire), and implying the idea of persons living together and preparing their food in common.

Newly discovered documents of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, coming from the northern parts of Russia, where serfdom has always been very little known, often employ a similar term, the term of "*pechische*" or "*hearth*," to designate persons of the same blood, living under the same roof, and possessing property in common. As to this property in special, it is said to belong to the whole community, but to be ruled by its chief alone, the father or eldest brother. No alienation of it can be made, unless with the consent of all the full-aged members of the family, and only in case of necessity, common to all the members of the brotherhood. Division is not to be allowed as long as the father is alive, unless he is the first to promote it. As soon as the father is dead, the brothers may go to division. In such a case each married couple sets up a separate home, and is admitted to an equal part in the fields belonging to the dissolved community, pasture and wood still remaining the object of common use. The result of division is, therefore, not the creation of private property in land, but the establishment of equal shares in the undivided family land. As the quality of the ground is sometimes unequal, the principle of the equality of shares means, that every married member of the brotherhood has the right to have his share in every field belonging to the community, and that this share is to be of the same amount as that of any other married couple of the brotherhood. Periodical redistribution is not required, and the right to sub-divide the individual shares being admitted, inequality of possession becomes soon the general characteristic of the dissolved family. To obviate the evil afforded by the system of successive sub-divisions, the necessary result of which is the partition of property in shares too small to be cultivated with advantage separately by each household, the following measure is applied. Newly established households, instead of making a demand for partition, leave their abodes and occupy the still uncultivated land in the forest or the waste, which belongs in common to all the families descending from the same root.

After the lapse of several generations, inequality of shares becomes an established fact, and the ground capable of cultivation being totally occupied, a feeling favourable to redivision of the once common property in equal shares, begins to

grow day by day. As soon as the majority, composed of the youngest members of the dissolved brotherhood, accepts the idea of a new redistribution, any further opposition becomes fruitless, and the redistribution follows, opposed by few, favoured by many. After several years, the same causes leading to the same results, a new redistribution of shares takes place, and by periodical redistributions of land become a general rule.

Anyone acquainted with the system of land-holding in the North-Western Provinces of India and in the Punjab finds no difficulty in ascertaining the perfect similitude, which exists between the process of dissolution that family property undergoes in India, and the one it follows in Russia.

The quarrels which, according to the testimony of English settlement officers, regularly occur between the present holders of land shares and those who require a redistribution—quarrels which in India have even a special name, the name of “*kum o beshee*”—illustrate in a plausible way the state of feeling contemporaneous with the first establishment of the run-rig system in Russia.

Up to this point we have followed the growth of the village community system only in the northern provinces of Russia, where it could not have been obstructed in any way by the establishment of personal servitude. It is time to ask ourselves if the process of evolution we have described is limited to this region alone, or if it exists also in the middle and southern provinces of the immense Empire of the Czars.

The statistical accounts, composed by order of our provincial assemblies (*zemstva*) have furnished us recently with a large amount of materials, illustrating the successive growth of the now existing system of village communities in the most remote parts of Russia. Under other names, the same stages of development are to be ascertained in little Russia, where the “*mir-system*” (whose existence at the time of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, is established by the survey made by the order of Rasoumovsky) was preceded by family ownership, which, according to the statutes of Lithuania of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was in a state of progressive dissolution. The name those documents give to the members of a dissolved brotherhood is “*siabri*,” they are considered to be holders of unequal shares in a property that began by being a common stock to all of them.

In those parts of Russia, where military colonies have been established during the last centuries for purposes of defence, survivals of the previous stages of the common ownership in land are



still in existence. Such is the case in the southern districts of the governments of Koursk and Voronej, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were still the southern limit of the Russian power; such is also the case among the Cosaques of the Don, of the Terek, and of the Black Sea, among whom periodical redistributions of land are either unknown or of recent origin, the prevailing system allowing each household to appropriate such an amount of land as will correspond to its wants, the land so taken in possession being free of any previous occupation or abandoned and left uncultivated.

The origin of the village communities and its consecutive growth being now briefly explained, we may turn our attention to the description of the now prevailing system, the system of the "mir."

It supposes the existence in the village area of at least four fields, one used as waste, one for winter, one for summer corn, and one for fallow. The scarcity of land, and the prodigious increase of population, have recently become in several parts of Russia the origin of a new system of land holding, very unfavourable to rural economy; it consists in eliminating one of the four fields—the waste, and dividing it in equal shares among the existing households. The consequence of this is the diminution in the number of breeding cattle, and an increasing difficulty in cultivating the soil with the few oxen or horses still kept by each household.

Where the ground is of unequal fertility, the number of the fields very often surpasses by many the four ordinary ones; each household receiving in that case equal shares in each. Sometimes an agreement takes place, the result of which is that certain households receive their shares in one field, and others in another.

Pastures and wood remain, as a rule, undivided, the villagers having the right to use them exclusively for their own need. As a consequence of this rule, foreign cattle cannot be allowed, on any account, to mix with the village stock. Where such regulations—very similar to those followed in Switzerland as to the "Allmends" and "Alps"—are unknown, the rich soon turn to their own profit the right of communal pasture and exhaust the waste ground by sending on it a larger number of sheep or cattle than it can afford to sustain.

Periodical distributions of shares in the common forest happen here and there in the few communes that have received allotments of wood at the time of emancipation, or succeeded in keeping them

untouched. Saying this, I have specially in view the middle and southern part of Russia, where fuel is, as a rule, very rare. As to the northern provinces, forest-ground is in such abundance that a system very like the wild culture of the days of Tacitus, including the burning up of whole miles of wood, is still in existence. Its name is *podsechnoie chosiaistvo*.

As in mediæval England and old France, the corn and meadow-lands, when harvest is at an end, become common waste, and are used as such by all the members of the same community from the end of August to the end of April.

Before finishing this paper, I wish to say a word or two as to the way in which redistributions of ground are made. These redistributions are of two kinds. Some ought to be called local readjustments; others present a character of generality. The first occur in single cases, when a new household is admitted to a share of a yet unoccupied ground, or exchanges its allotment for one belonging to a neighbour; the other happens at fixed periods, the shortest of which is three years, the term of a complete rotation of crops under the existing three fields' system, and the longest nineteen or more years, the number of years that separate the old census of the population from a new one. In the last case, the number of shares corresponds, as a rule, not to the number of actually living souls, but to the one that was counted in the last made census.

Local arrangements procure, nevertheless, to some communities the possibility of adjusting the shares of their members according to their well-understood interests. The remark has been made that in provinces where the ground is rich, which is the case of the middle and southern governments, where the black ground (*chernosem*) is to be found, the distribution of shares is made according to the number of actually living souls; the revenue afforded by agriculture surpassing the amount of expenses produced by taxation. The reverse is the rule in those parts of Russia where the ground is poor, the taxes absorbing more of the revenue of the household than it can get from the ground it occupies, and nobody wishing to take the lot left free by the death of some one of the members of a surtaxed family.

Not every spot of village-ground is subject to redistribution: the homesteads constitute the inalienable property of the households. Orchards, gardens, and, in a few places, some of the meadows cannot pass into the hands of new owners in case of a general redistribution.

As a rule, the meadows follow a different course of rotation to the agricultural ground; and, at all events, constitute separate fields in the village area, in which every householder has a right to have his share, equal to that of his neighbour.

In a paper, whose destiny is to be read by archæologists, I will not indulge in the description of the vices and advantages of the existing system of peasant-ownership in Russia. But I will ask for a moment the attention of the reader to a peculiar communistic feature in the manners of the country-people, intimately allied with the prevailing mode of land-holding, and having its parallel in mediæval England—I mean the moral obligation which compels every peasant to help his neighbours in the accomplishment of agricultural work, especially in harvest time. This sort of “communal help” (*obschtinnia pomochi*, such is the name under which this work done in common is known in Russia), reminds us of the “love-boons,” or “*angariæ autumni*,” so often mentioned in rentals and court-rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The same feeling of mutual reponsibility, the origin of which is to be looked for in the system of owning land in common, is the source from which springs another very curious institution—namely, that of lands belonging in undivided ownership to the whole mir. Such lands are cultivated by all the households of the same village, and their yearly produce is regularly brought to the “common storage” (*obschestvenni magazini*), and equally distributed among all the householders in case of dearth.

No special poor or “school-lands” (“*armen und schulgüter*”), similar to those “*biens des pauvres*” and “*biens des écoles*” of Switzerland or France, are known to exist in Russia; but a certain number of acres, not subject to redistribution, is assigned to the clergy in each separate village, where a regular ministry has been appointed. This is not at all the case of every village, but only of those which have a sufficient number of householders to keep the priest in a condition not very remote from that of an ordinary peasant. The number of householders that constitutes a village into a parish is fixed by law at different standards in the different parts of the Empire. This law has been strictly maintained until the Government experienced that the want of regular clergy was the surest ally of schism, dissenters rapidly augmenting in numbers in the parishes left without spiritual aid.

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY.



## INDEX NOTES.

## 8. ROMAN REMAINS IN LONDON.—i. NORTH SIDE OF THAMES.

**T**HIS index forms a complete topographical record of discoveries in London. The authorities used are—C. Roach Smith's *Catalogue of London Antiquities*, *Collectanea Antiqua*, and *Illustrations of Roman London*; Tite's *Catalogue of Antiquities found on the site of the Royal Exchange*; Price's *Roman Antiquities Mansion House*, *Historical Description of Guildhall*, *Bastion of London Wall*, and *Roman Tessellated Pavement, Bucklersbury*; Transactions and Proceedings of evening meetings of London and Middlesex Archæological Society; *Archæologia*; Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries; *Archæological Journal*; *Journal of British Archæological Association*; *Gentleman's Magazine*; *Numismatic Chronicle*; British Museum; Guildhall Museum; Museum of Practical Geology; Camden's *Britannia*; Horsley's *Romana Britannia*; Leland's *Collectanea*; Wren's *Parentalia*; and the local histories.

ABCHURCH LANE, Lamps and pottery (undescribed). *Brit. Mus.*; *Guild. Mus.*  
ADDLE STREET, Bronze key. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xii. 120.  
ALDERMANBURY, City wall, Postern, remains of blind arches, tiles, etc. *Rom. Lond.*, 17.

ALDERSGATE STREET, Glass bottle perfect. *Guild. Mus.*  
ALDGATE, Traces of the city wall; Samian ware (undescribed). *Brit. Mus.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1861, i. 646.

AMERICA SQUARE, City wall, exposed at depth of 6 feet 6 inches, identical in form with the fragments discovered in the Tower precincts. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxvi. 464.

BARGE YARD, Ornamented silver hair pin, figure of Venus (undescribed), and other personal ornaments, pincers, and Samian ware. *Brit. Mus.*; *Guild. Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxvi. 237.

BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, bronze handle of chest. *Brit. Mus.*

BARTHOLOMEW LANE, Mosaic pavements. *Cat. Ant. Royal Exch.*, 31.

BASING LANE, Pottery, tiles, walls. *Ms. Diary*, by E. B. Price.

BASINGHALL STREET, Bronze sheep or horse bells, crucibles. *Guild. Mus.*

BATH STREET (In rear of New Post Office), depth 15 feet, light and brown Mortaria, Samian, and Upchurch pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxiii. 265.

BETHNAL GREEN, Leaden coffin, ornamented, containing human remains, jet hair pins, etc. *Coll. Antig.*, iii. 45, 62; *Proc. E. M. L. & M. Arch. Soc.*, 1861; *Gent. Mag.*, 1862, ii. 614-15; *Brit. Mus.*

BEVIS MARKS, Figure in Oolitic stone attired in Phrygian cap with pallium or cloak, sculptures from a bastion of the city wall, inscribed stones, statuary, architectural fragments. *Cat. Lond. Antig.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 47; *Arch. Inst.*, xlii. 154; Price's *Guildhall*; *Antiquary*, 1885, ii. 33.

BILLITER SQUARE, bronze fibulæ. *Baily MSS.*; *Guild. Mus.*

BILLITER STREET [Roman level, 12 to 16 feet], lamp and stand, tiles, mortar, pottery. *Arch.*, xxix. 153; *Guild. Mus.*

BIRCHIN LANE, Mosaic pavements, figure of a sea horse found in 1857, portion only uncovered, Samian and other pottery, with other pavements. *Arch.* xxix.; *Proc. E. M. Lon. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1861, 33; Price's *Tess. Pav.*, 1869, 17.

BISHOPSGATE STREET, Coins, church vaults arched with equilateral Roman bricks,

- depth 14 feet, contained human remains, iron horse shoes. *Allen's Lon.*, i. 25; *Guild. Mus.*
- BLACKFRIARS** (Excavations between the Deanery and Blackfriars), bronze statuette of Diana. *Malcolm's Lond. Red.*, iii. 509.
- BLOMFIELD STREET (MOORFIELDS)**, Amphoræ and pottery, interment by cremation, large glass bottles and wooden cist containing bones, also a wooden keg or *cupa*, vase,<sup>1</sup> iron horse shoes. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1867; *Guild. Mus.*; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 517; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser. vi. 170.
- BOW**, Pottery, with stone coffin, from the Roman way leading from Bethnal Green to Old Ford, and thence across the sea to Essex. Contained human remains, lime, &c. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 192.
- BOW CHURCH**, Causeway disclosed in preparing the foundations for new steeple, in thickness four feet, beneath it Roman bricks and debris. *Wren's Parentalia*, 265.
- BOW LANE** (Cheapside), Tile tomb,<sup>2</sup> depth 12 feet, skeleton, coin of Domitian in its mouth. *Gent. Mag.*, 1840, i. 420; *Rom. Lond.*, 58.
- BRIDGEWATER SQUARE**, Fine glass lachrymatory. *Guild. Mus.*
- BROAD (NEW) STREET**, Coffin of lead bound with iron bands, depth 14 feet. *Coll. Antiq.*, vii. 180.
- BROAD (OLD) STREET**, Amphoræ, leaden pipe found in 1854, depth four feet, portion of supply or waste-pipe to the baths of a Roman dwelling, the pipe in lengths of nine feet; mosaic pavement on site of the Excise Office. *Arch. xxxvi.* 203-213; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xi. 73; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 1st ser., 1854, 114; *Proc. E.M.L. and M. Arch. Soc.*, 1860, 3; *Mus. Pract. Geol.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 55.
- BROKER ROW**, Blomfield Street, remains of city wall, fifty feet or more. *Antiquary*, 1885, ii. 180.
- BROOK'S WHARF (THAMES)**, Bronze armillæ, glass, flesh and other hooks; fishing tackle, keys, etc. *Guild. Mus.*
- BUCKLESBURY**, Mortaria, pins, pottery, bone draughtsmen, fine tessellated pavements, depth 19 feet. *Price's Rom. Tesselld. Pavement*; *Guild. Mus.*
- BUDGE ROW**, inscribed stone, Samian ware. *Guild. Mus.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1857, iii., 69; *Hübner*; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 34, vii. 22; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iv., 113.
- BUSH LANE**, frescoes, pavements, tiles, debris of dwellings, walls of great strength.<sup>3</sup> *Arch.* xxix. 156; *Lnd. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii., 213; *Rom. Lnd.*, 14.
- BUTLER'S WHARF (Thames)**, Bronze pins, personal ornaments and pottery. *Guild. Mus.*
- CAMOMILE STREET**, pavements found in 1707, depth four feet, sculptures from a bastion of the city wall, sepulchral monuments, statue in Oolitic stone of a "hignifer" or standard-bearer, fragments of emblematical figures, inscribed stones and architectural details, wall, depth 8 feet, 10 feet high, width 9 feet. *Gent. Mag.*, i. 415-417; *Price's Bastion of London Wall*, 1880; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxii. 490-493; *Dr. Woodward, Letter to Sir C. Wren*, 12-14.
- CANNON STREET**, bronze lamp of rare form, statuette of Hercules. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, iii. 100; *British Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 58.
- CANNON STREET** ("Station S.E. Railway"), apartments with tessellated floors; external wall, 200 feet long, 10 feet high, and 12 feet thick,<sup>4</sup> numerous cross walls. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 213.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny. H. N. xiv. 27. This burial, probably intended as a liminary mark. The site being on the line of division between the parishes of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. It may also be mentioned that an immense number of human skulls were found throughout this street.

<sup>2</sup> In Paternoster Row, a tile tomb was found with skeleton beneath a tessellated pavement, and deposited, therefore, at a period long anterior to the construction of the building above it. These interments mark the limitation and gradual increase of the Roman city.

<sup>3</sup> The enormous walls here described are probably like those adjoining in Scott's Yard which are referred to by Gale *Com. Ant. It.*, p. 89, and Maitland, p. 12. The wall described by Gale as *miræ crassitudinis et armitatis* seems identical with the former; the tessellated pavements and other vestigia of houses are evidently connected with the latter.

<sup>4</sup> The foundations of the present station rest upon these solid blocks of masonry.

- CANNON STREET (New), Amphoræ, coins, debris of buildings, pavements, and walls, depth 12 feet, flue-tiles and frescoes, human skeleton with coffin nails, lamps, and pottery, stone mouldings. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 436; x. 191. *Mus. Prac. Geol.*
- CATEATON STREET AND LAD LANE (Gresham Street), Amphoræ, glass, lamps, fine Durobrivian and Samian pottery, tessellated pavements,<sup>5</sup> partially uncovered only, depth 9 feet, toys in terra cotta. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843; 21-22, 190-191, ii. 81; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iii. 335; *Mus. Pract. Geol.*; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, ii. 126.
- CHEQUER COURT, broken tiles, many inscribed. *Arch.*, xxix. 157.
- CHURCH LANE (Whitechapel), sepulchral stone inscribed, depth 6 feet. *Gent. Mag.*, 1784, ii. 672; *Rom. Lond.*, 24.
- CLAPTON, sarcophagus in marble, inscribed. *L. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 191, 212; *Gent. Mag.*, 1867, ii. 793.
- CLEMENT'S LANE, coins, lamps, pottery, pavements, depth 12 feet near the church, inscribed stones. *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 32; *Arch.*, xxiv., 350; xxviii. 142-152.
- CLERKENWELL (underground railway), urns. *Baily MSS.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- CLOAK LANE, sepulchral stones (Purbeck), inscribed. *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 139; *Gent. Mag.*, *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii. 351; *Brit. Mus.*
- COCK LANE, bronze armlets found on the wrists of skeleton, depth 12 feet, Mortaria, pestle of terra cotta and pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 87; *Guild. Mus.*
- COLEMAN STREET, Bone comb, urn of dark ware with cover. *Baily MSS.*; *Brit. Mus.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- COLLEGE STREET (Dowgate Hill), tessellated pavement near Dyers' Hall (depth 13 feet 8 inches), coins and pottery. *Gent. Mag.*, 1839, ii., 636.
- CORREY COURT, Samian ware. *Baily MSS.*
- CORNHILL, fine Samian vase, embossed and of unusual kind, the figures and ornaments having been separately moulded and affixed while moist, the glaze added and fixed afterwards.<sup>6</sup> *Cat. Lon. Antiq.*, 29; *Arch.*, xxix. 274; *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 97.
- CRIPPLEGATE, the city wall, with bastion, encased with later work. *Rom. Lond.*, 17.
- CREED LANE, Mortaria and other pottery, fine Samian ware. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i. 190-191. *Mus. Pract. Geol.*
- CROOKED LANE, Amphoræ, armlets, early coins, fused glass, pavements, pottery, pins, personal ornaments, styli, tiles. *Arch.*, xxiv. 191-202; *Guild. Mus.*; *Hist. and Antiq. St. Michael Crooked Lane*, p. 19 *et. seq.*
- CROSBY SQUARE (Bishopsgate), cover of marble cippus, traces of inscription,<sup>7</sup> mosaic pavements, depth 13 feet. *Arch.*, xxviii., 397; *Gent. Mag.*, 1836, i. 369-372; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxiii. 106; *Rom. Lond.*, 67; *Guild. Mus.*
- CULLUM STREET, debris of buildings, frescoes, walls, mosaic pavements, pottery, depth 11 feet 6 inches. *Arch.*, xxix. 153; *Baily MSS.*
- CULVERT'S BREWERY (Thames), bone dice. *Guild. Mus.*; *Price's Rom. Antiq.*
- DALSTON, near to Shrubland Road, Queen's Road, urns. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv. 79.
- DOWGATE HILL, tessellated pavements, Upchurch ware. *Allen's Hist. Lond.*, i. 6; iii. 508; *Baily MSS.*
- DRAPER'S HALL, large urn with handles. *Baily MSS.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- DUKE STREET (Aldgate), foundations of the city wall, together with projecting bastion referred to as perfect in the year 1753. *Maitland's Hist. Lond.*
- EARL STREET (near the Bible House), enamelled fibulae. *Guild. Mus.*
- EASTCHEAP, Amphoræ, coins of the first century, armour part of a Roman lorica, pottery, &c., a well at a depth of 10 feet, flue tiles, debris of buildings, walls, mortaria, pavements, Samian ware. *Gent. Mag.*, 1833, i. 69-70, ii. 524; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 148; *Arch.*, xxiv. 190, 202.

<sup>5</sup> The pavements in this locality were in unusually large numbers, and of all varieties; quantities of the "*Spicata Testacea*" or "herring bone" pattern, a form still in use with stables and outhouses in the present day.

<sup>6</sup> This description of pottery is of exceptional rarity; some fine examples are in the possession of Mr. Ransom at Hitchin.

<sup>7</sup> Drawing in possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A.



- EDGEWARE ROAD, indications of the Roman road, leading in a line from Paddington to Harrow-on-the-Hill. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxi., 218.
- ENDELL STREET, leaden sepulchral cist, with bones and silver coins found in 1854. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., ii. 376, 377; *Brit. Mus.*
- EWER STREET, glass lachrymatory (perfect). *Brit. Mus.*
- FENCHURCH STREET, coins, fibulae, frescoes, glass, &c., leaden sepulchral cist with bones, pavements, depth 12 feet, silver medallion, with figure of house-dog springing, terra cotta female head, tiles ornamented. *Arch.*, xxix. 53; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxviii. 283, xliii. 102; *Gent. Mag.*, 1834, i. 156, 159; *Mus. Pract. Geol.*; *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 59; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 216; *Guild Mus.*
- FINCH LANE, tessellated pavement, remains of buildings. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 64.
- FINSBURY, bronze three-legged pot, axe head, glass and pottery. *Guild. Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxv. 166.
- FINSBURY CIRCUS, circular plate of metal, representing the popular story of Romulus and Remus, inscribed stone. *Arch. Inst.*, i. 115; *Gent. Mag.*, 1837, 361; *Rom. Lond.*, 26, 76; *Guild. Mus.*; *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 134.
- FISH (OLD) STREET HILL, arch turned with tiles built on stones laid on wooden piles. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 45.
- FLEET DITCH, site near the old prison, depth 15 feet, coins, pottery, &c. Conyer's MSS. in Bib. Sir Hans Sloane; Maitland *Hist. Lond.*, 504.
- FOSTER LANE, altar now in Goldsmiths' Hall, figure of Diana, depth 15 feet, found in 1830. *Arch.*, xxiv. 350, xxix. 145; *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 130, 134; *Rom. Lond.*, 48; *Vest. Rom. Lond.*; Hübner, vii. 22.
- FOUNDERS COURT (Lothbury), pavement near to the Church of St. Margaret's, found in 1835. *Arch.*, xxix.
- FRIDAY STREET, Samian ware. *Mus. Prac. Geol.*
- GOLDSMITH STREET, bronze scale beam. *Guild. Mus.*
- GOODMAN'S FIELDS, cemetery, coins, glass, urns containing bones, sepulchral stone inscribed. *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 141; *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii. 416, 417; Hübner, vii. 23; Malcolm *Lond. Rediv.*, iv. 450; *Rom. Lond.*, 24.
- GRACECHURCH STREET (site of St. Benet's Church), beads in numbers, combs, bronzes, fine hand of statue, &c., left hand of bronze statue,<sup>9</sup> heroic size, Durobrivian and Samian pottery, glass, several portions of bowls, &c., in blue and green glass, many illustrating the practice of "pillar moulding," walls across the roadway, depth 22 feet, 4 feet thick. *Cat. Ant. Royal Ecch.*,<sup>9</sup> p. xii; *Guild. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii. 109, xxiv. 76, 78, xxvi. 72.
- GUILDHALL, excavations at East End, small alabaster female head. *Guild. Mus.*
- GUTTER LANE, coins, pottery. *Arch.*, xxviii. 142, 152.
- GUY'S HOSPITAL, Samian ware. *Baily MSS.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- HACKNEY, urns containing coins ranging from Julius Caesar to Constantine, stone coffin, inscription illegible, found in 1773. *Gent. Mag.*, 1853, p. 899; Robinson's *Hist. of Hackney*, p. 29.
- HAMPSTEAD, sepulchral urn with calcined bones and lamp, found in 1774. *Gent. Mag.*, 46, p. 169; Park's *Hist. Hampstead*, p. 12.
- HART STREET, CRUTCHED FRIARS, sculpture *Dea Matres*. *Coll. Antiq.* i. 136, 137; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 247; *ibid.* ii. 249; Wright's *Celt. Roman and Saxon*, 289; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 32; *Rm. Lond.*, 33; *Guild Mus.*
- HAYDON SQUARE, MINORIES, Sarcophagus, depth 15 feet. *Rom. Lond.*, 45; *Brit. Mus.*
- HOLBORN, Mosaic pavement, sepulchral urns, bone whistles, fibulae, glass beads, leaden lamp stand. *Gent. Mag.*, 1807, i. 415, 417; 1833, i. 549; Grew's *Cat. of the rarities belonging to the Royal Soc.*, 1681, 880; *Gent. Mag.*, 1869, 70; *Guild. Mus.*
- HOLBORN BRIDGE, indications of roadway in direction of London stone. Gale's *Itinerary*, 64; Camden *Brit.*
- HOLBORN BRIDGE (new street), Anchor (3 feet 10 inches high), bottles, Samian and Upchurch pottery. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii. 416, 417.

<sup>9</sup> Found on site of the well known hostelry, the "Spread Eagle."

<sup>9</sup> A most useful work of reference.

- HOLBORN CIRCUS (Mecking's Premises), ampulla with handle. *Baily MSS.*;  
*Guild. Mus.*
- HOLBORN HILL, oaken case, 2 feet 9 inches square at a depth of 18 feet, containing urns, charred bones and pottery. *Arch.*, xxix. 147.
- HOLBORN VALLEY, bone whistles, bronze fibulae, leaden lamp stand, pottery. *Guild. Mus.*
- HOLBORN VIADUCT (Parsonage House, St. Andrew's Church), seven vases. *Baily MSS.*
- HONEY LANE MARKET, coins, pottery, pavements, depth 17 feet, mortarium frescoes, walls of masonry. *Gent. Mag.*, 1836, i. 135-136, 369, 372; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1861, 69; *Guild. Mus.*
- HOUNDSDITCH, masonry, debris of a bastion built against but not bonded into the city wall, sculptures from the locality utilised as building material. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxvii. 87; *Guild. Mus.*
- HUGGIN LANE, pavements in grey and white tessere.<sup>10</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., ii. 184.
- IDOL LANE, pottery, &c. *Baily MSS.*
- ISLINGTON (Barnsbury Park), coins, pottery and tiles, presumed traces of prætorium or camp. *Gent. Mag.*, 1823, ii. 489; 1824, i. 5; Hone's *Every Day Book*, ii. 1566; Allen's *History of London*, i.; Nelson's *Hist. Islington*; Lewis' *Hist. Islington*, 2 et seq.
- IVY LANE, Pottery. *Proc. E. M. L. and M. A. Soc.*, 1860, 3.
- KING'S ARMS YARD, marble Palette. *Brit. Mus.*
- KNIGHT RIDER (LITTLE) STREET, arch turned with tiles (perfect), depth 14 feet, frescoes, tiles, walls, &c. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 254.
- KNIGHT RIDER (GREAT) STREET, bricks, wall, &c. *Arch.*, xl. 49.
- LAMBETH HILL,<sup>11</sup> wall of great strength and solidity, depth 9 feet. *Rom. Lond.*, 18.
- LAURENCE POUNTNEY LANE, Samian ware, walls constructed entirely of tiles.<sup>12</sup> *Mus. Prac. Geol.*
- LEADENHALL MARKET, Inscribed tiles, Frescoes in quantities, walls of great thickness, one with circular apex at southwest end; foundations and pavements extending over a large area. Illustrated descriptions as yet unpublished.<sup>13</sup> *Brit. Mus.*
- LEADENHALL STREET,<sup>14</sup> Frescoes, Tessellated Pavement (East India House) depth 9 feet, Samian and other Pottery, querns or millstones. *Bayley. Lon. and Midd.* i., 95; *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 57; *Gent. Mag.*, i., 83; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii., 341.
- LIME STREET, Samian Vases, perfect, incuse pattern, rare, in Museum of W. Ransom, Esq., F.S.A., Hitchin,<sup>15</sup> Urn containing a hoard<sup>16</sup> of silver coins, depth 17 feet, with pottery, &c.; specimen of charred wheat, Upchurch Ware, glass. *Guild. Mus.*; *Num. Chron.*, ser. iii., 58-60, 269-281; *Mus. Prac. Geol.*
- LIVERPOOL STREET, pottery, terra cotta figure of Pomona, mask of a larger figure not yet identified. *Guild. Mus.*

<sup>10</sup> In large quantities and only partially cleared.

<sup>11</sup> This wall extended as far as Queenhithe, it marked the southern limit of the city, contained friezes, entablatures, sculptured marbles, and other relics from the ruins of earlier buildings.

<sup>12</sup> Indications in this country of early work.

<sup>13</sup> Accurate plans and drawings, taken at the time of the excavations, are in the possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A. As bearing on the early history of this particular site, to be referred to hereafter, it may be remarked that it has never yet been private property.

<sup>14</sup> Some rare descriptions of glass discovered here, viz., fragments of dark blue and streaked in variegated colours. Another variety an opaque white, the handle of a small vase, with boss representing a lion's head.

<sup>15</sup> This belongs to a period of which few such deposits are known, the majority of such hoards discovered in Britain usually belonging either to an earlier or later date.

<sup>16</sup> Mr. Ransom possesses what is now probably the finest private collection existing in its integrity, of "Roman Antiquities from the City of London." Many of the objects are unusually fine specimens of their class, some of great rarity, and all as yet are unpublished. It is gratifying to know that so unique and interesting a collection has fallen into such good hands.

## 9. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES, 1886-87.

[Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2nd series, vol. xi.; y  
Cymmrodor the magazine of the Hon. Society of Cymmro-  
dorian, vol. viii.; Derbyshire Archæological Society, vol. x.]

- Bishop (G.), The Leaden Bullae of the Roman Pontiffs. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 260-270.
- Booth (J.), On the Early Descent of the Ferrers. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 148-150.
- Browne (Rev. G. F.), An Incised Stone in the Tower of Skipworth Church, Yorks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 171-173.
- Brown (J. A.), A Palæolithic Workshop Floor discovered near Ealing. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 211-215.
- Cave-Browne (Rev. J.), Paving Tiles found in the Church of All-Saints', Maidstone. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 202-203.
- Chandler (Prof.), On the Value of Court Rolls. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 72-77.
- Cheales (Rev. H. J.), Roman and other Remains found at Willoughby, Lincolnshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 65-69.
- Clinch (G.), Palæolithic and Neolithic Implements found at Rowes Farm, West Wickham, Kent. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 161-166.
- Colomb (Colonel), A Letter from Thomas Shephard to Hugh Peters, 1645. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 348-359.
- Cooper (Major C.), A Singular Figure of Carved Bone, &c., found in Bedfordshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 311.
- Cowper (H. S.), Prehistoric Remains from Lancashire and Westmoreland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 227-231.
- Cox (Rev. J. C.), The Rhymed Chronicle of John Harestaffe. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 71-147.
- Day (R.), Bronze Weapons found in Lough Erne. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 157-158; 249-250.
- Dawkins (Prof. B.), A Hoard of Bronze Articles found at Eaton, near Norwich. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 42-51.
- Duka (T.), An African Ivory Anklet and a Chinese Cup formed out of Rhinoceros Horn. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 62-64.
- Evans (J.), A Bronze Hoard from Felixstowe, Suffolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 8-12.
- An Onyx Cameo bearing the Head of Medusa. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 396-397.
- Evans (J. G.), Pedigrees from Jesus College MS. *Cymmrodor* viii. 83-92.
- Ferguson (R. S.), Inscribed Stone found at Castlenook, near Whitley Castle, Northumberland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 27-29.
- Fletcher (G.), Tideswell Dale Quarry. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 1-8.
- Fowler (Rev. J. T.), A Roman Steelyard of Bronze discovered at Catterick, Yorks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 317-318.
- G. (D. G.), Folk-lore of Wales [the Call of the Raven Imitated—Children's Play of Blindman's Buff.] *Cymmrodor* viii. 228-229.
- Green (E.), An Inlaid Picture Frame with the Instruments of the Passion. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 181-185.
- Hall (Rev. G. R.), A Small Flint Knife and Piece of Glass found at Chollerford, Northumberland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 187-189.
- Hancock (T. W.), Ancient Welsh Words. *Cymmrodor* viii. 200-208.
- Hart (W. H.), Calendar of the Fines for the County of Derby from their commencement in the reign of Richard I. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 151-158.
- Higgins (A.), Thirteenth Century Ivory Box or Pyx from Sicily. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 318-330.
- Hope (W. H. S.), The Great Mace, Standing Cup, and Snuff-Box belonging to the City of Westminster. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 36-41.



- Hope (W. H. S.), A Remarkable Stone found on the site of Roche Abbey, near Rotherham. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 245-248.
- The Seals of English Bishops. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 271-306.
- Hudd (A. E.), A Roman Interment discovered near Farnborough, Somersetshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 313-314.
- Kerry (Rev. C.), Annals of Horseton and Horsley. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 16-27.
- Kirby (T. F.), Excavations at Winchester Cathedral Church. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 99-102, 411-413.
- Waterwork Panels recently discovered at Winchester College. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 196-199.
- Leader (J. D.), Report of Discovery of Cinerary Urns at Crookes, near Sheffield. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 390.
- Lloyd (H. W.), Notes on the Life of St. David, the Patron Saint of Wales. *Cymmrodor* viii. 25-40.
- Micklethwaite (J. T.), An English Cope at Pienza. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 398-401.
- Middleton (J. H.), A Bronze Statuette from Egypt of the God Ptah. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 332-335.
- Mitchell (F. J.), A Roman Pavement lately uncovered at Caerwent, Monmouthshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 195-196.
- Money (W.), Roman Remains on Stancombe Down, Berks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 410-411.
- Moore (E. S.), Roman and other Articles found at Felixstowe, Suffolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 12-14.
- Norris (H.), A Number of Roman and Mediaeval Objects found at Hamden Hill, Somerset. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 86-88.
- Owen (J.), Race and Nationality. *Cymmrodor* viii. 1-24.
- Payne (G.), A Carved Beam or Panel upon the Front of a House at Halesworth, Suffolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 307.
- Roman Lead Coffin found at Plumstead. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 308-309.
- Peacock (E.), Charter of Edward I. and Foresters Account amongst the Muni-ments of Berkeley Castle. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 255-258.
- Documents Relating to the Observance of the Gunpowder Treason and Plot. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 391-395.
- Price (F. G. H.), The Opening of a Barrow in Colwinston, Glamorganshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 430-438.
- Price (J. E.), An Inscribed Roman Tile discovered in Warwick Lane, Newgate Street, London. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 178-179.
- Renaud (F.), Fourteenth Century Tile Pavement in Prior John de Crauden's Chapel at Ely. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 203-206.
- Robinson (J. C.), On Some Examples of Byzantine Art. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 88-92.
- Savage (Rev. E. B.), A Cup-marked Stone at Ballagawne, Arbory, Isle of Man. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 239-241.
- Scarth (Rev. H. M.), Account of a Roman House discovered at Wemberham in Yatton, Somerset, and a Hoard of Coins at Kingston-Seymour. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 29-32.
- Sculptured Stone found at Bath. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 102-105.
- Sitwell (Sir G. R.), A Picture of the Iron Trade in the Seventeenth Century. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 28-46.
- Smith (Oecil), A Chalcedony Gem Engraved with the Apollo of Kanachos. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 251-255.
- Waller (J. G.), A Remarkable Incised Slab at Séclin, near Lille. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 237-239.
- Ward (J.), Tideswell Dale Quarry. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 9-15.

- Ward (J.), Barrows at Haddon Fields. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 47-55.  
 Watkin (W. T.), Roman Remains at Little Chester. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 159-163.  
 Westwood (Prof.), An Anglo-Saxon Sepulchral Slab at Stratfield, Mortimer, Berks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 224-226,  
 ——— Remains of a Fine Norman Cross Shaft at Sheffield. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 226-227.  
 Worsley (J. E.), Discovery of an Ancient Grave on Ty-clwyfau Farm, near Llan-faerfechan. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 428-430.  
 Yeatman (Pym), The Recusants of Derbyshire. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 56-70.

### QUARTERLY REPORT OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

*Prehistoric Remains.*—At Ventnor, near where the Crown Inn stood, some digging brought to light the remains of the wild boar, wild bull, and wild deer, accompanied by the frontal limb of an antler, which bore signs of having been sharpened and polished by a sharp-edged flint.—Mr. J. Sylvester has been excavating on his estate at Slade, near Petersfield, and has discovered many prehistoric flint flakes and scrapers, bones of animals and men. Two of three tumuli have been opened, and burnt bones have been found on a layer of black earth, with fragments of a single urn. There are also three curious parallel banks of earth across a valley, formed of gravel, there being a layer of white clay above the natural soil. Mr. Sylvester is continuing his excavations, and he promises to communicate to us the results.—A tusk of the great hairy elephant has been unearthed from the cliff near Swalecliffe between Whitstable and Herne Bay.—The Rev. W. D. Purdon obtained from the alum-shales in the Lias of Lofthouse, near Whitby, a skull of a pterodactyle, which is extremely rare, besides which the present specimen displays parts previously unknown.—Some prehistoric remains are reported to have been found at Dunstable.

*British Remains.*—About ninety gold coins of the Iceni have been discovered in a crock at Freckenham, near Mildenhall, Suffolk. The crock is of coarse black sun-dried, or slightly-baked clay, ornamented apparently by the rough scratchings of a stick. The types of the coins are principally those described in Evans' *Ancient British Coins* (plate xiv., Nos. 12, 13, and 14.)

*Roman Remains.*—A pewter vessel, silver ring, and nearly 1500 coins from temp. Constantine to Gratianus, were found early in the year at East Harptree, Somerset.—A large quantity of pottery, including some Samian ware in a fragmentary condition, has been found in the excavations for the new markets in Carlisle. Pieces of red Salopian and the black Durobrivian pottery were also found, together with a small circular crock, richly enam-

elled. The soles of several sandals, thickly studded over with nails, were also discovered. On the pottery was displayed well-known potters' marks, ADVOCISI and ORVCRO and XIII. With these objects was a whetstone of quartzite of beautiful finish, which is believed to be of Roman workmanship.—A series of Roman coins were also found near Peterborough, and a collection of leaden dumps, supposed to have been used in playing some popular game, but which were probably used as small change at a time when nothing less than a silver penny was in circulation.—The excavators engaged on the District Railway which passes under the site of the church St. John-the-Baptist-upon-Walbrook, London, came upon some remains which were no doubt part of the floor of a Roman villa.—In clearing the site for the new Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, the workmen came upon what is believed to be the best specimen yet discovered of the old Roman wall. One side of the space was covered by a disused graveyard, which was being made available for a recreation ground, and the other side of the space was laid bare by the workmen in preparing the foundation for the new Post Office building. The discovery has been treated with great care, and many parts of the wall, which would be exposed to view for about a hundred feet, were in an excellent state of preservation, though in other parts the old wall had been much interfered with, large gaps having been cut through and brickwork inserted. The attention of the Government having been called to the subject, Mr. Plunkett stated in the House of Commons that it would be possible to preserve what remained of the old Roman wall, so that the whole of it should remain as undisturbed and complete as it was to-day, and exposed in sections and visible for inspection and study by antiquaries. It is so unusual to get the Government to recognise the importance of preserving these things that we ought to be thankful that so much has been accomplished.—Several coins of Hadrian, Gratian, Nerva, and Constantine, were discovered in the coprolite-diggings at Hanseton, Cambridgeshire. There were also several bronze and brass rings, buckles, pins, iron knives, forks, and two carved bone handles.—A part of a large Roman pavement has been found beneath a house at Gloucester.—Perhaps the most interesting relic of the Roman period discovered this year is the pavement at Salisbury by Mr. F. G. Nicholls. Salisbury is the mediæval city founded upon the desertion of old Sarum, the ancient Roman city, and the question arises, therefore, was Salisbury founded upon its present site, because already there existed on the spot relics of a former settlement? The pavement may be simply the remnants of a villa residence in the open fields; but its connection with Salisbury is certainly a subject which needs investigation.

*Anglo-Saxon Remains.*—Among the antiquities found early in the year near Peterborough was a remarkable fibula of early Saxon date, the hammer of Thor being represented in a conspicuous position.

*Churches, Crosses, &c.*—Mr. Stephen Williams of Rhayader has been excavating on the site of the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida in Cardiganshire. A number of fragments of pillars, mouldings, and encaustic tiles, have been dug up, but unfortunately nothing systematic was attempted. However, the Society of Antiquaries have had their attention drawn to the



subject, and Mr. St. John Hope is to direct future operations.—The church of Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, is threatened with restoration, which, luckily, is waiting for funds. It was built by the celebrated Bishop Burnell, Chancellor to Edward I., hard by his castellated house at Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, the scene of the Parliament which met at Shrewsbury in 1283, and adjourned here and passed the statute *De Mercatoribus*. It is a highly interesting example of the transition between Early English and Decorated, and doubtless requires some repairs. But it does not need the whole of the plaster to be stripped off the inside walls, and the rude stone pointed, and the wooden belfry, standing upon massive timbers going down to the floor of the church, to be abolished, and supplanted by a new one perched upon the roof timbers.—It is proposed to restore the ancient parish church of Yelling, near St. Neots. The church evidently occupies the site of an older building, for there are portions of a Norman building still to be seen. In the south aisle, built into the wall, and under an arch, is a well-preserved Norman tomb.—The Abbot's Gateway at Peterborough is undergoing restoration. The gateway leads from the precincts to the Bishop's palace, and is an interesting structure.—An attempt is being made to "restore" the abbey church of Shrewsbury. The nave of the ancient church of the Benedictines is all that remains, and Mr. J. L. Pearson is to build up to the original scale of the ancient church.—Another abbey church is in the hands of the restorers, Thorney Abbey. The first Duke of Bedford gave 146 tons of stone from the old monastery towards building the chapel of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Five bays of the Norman nave of the church, and a portion of the west front, were saved from the wreck. The ruined fabric underwent a kind of restoration in 1638. Forty years ago another restoration took place. Then were added to the church two transepts, north and south, which makes the ground-plan of the sacred edifice the exact shape of the letter T. The present restoration will probably be as good a performance as can well be expected, because it is in the hands of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.—In an old rockery in a house near Chester, on the Duke of Westminster's estate, the remains of a tabernacle cross were found and identified by Mr. Alfred Rimmer as the remains of Chester high cross, broken up many years ago. The date is about 1350. The Duke at once gave it to the city, and the Corporation have taken steps for its restoration in the Market Square at Chester.—Several Norman arches of great interest, and a spiral Norman staircase leading to the basement, have been uncovered at Norwich Castle during the process of removing the prison buildings.

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### CHURCH RESTORATION.

The Destruction of Ancient Monuments and of interesting Architectural Remains by the process of modern Church-Restoration is constantly being brought under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and that body has issued a circular letter which is calculated to do some good, though we fear not till the Government steps in and declares the Parish Churches to be national historical monuments, which are not to be touched

except under the supervision of specially appointed surveyors, will there be any real conservation of our ancient monuments. Why does not the Society of Antiquaries promote a bill in Parliament for the purpose of taking charge of historical monuments? Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Elton, Mr. Howorth, Mr. Leighton, and many of its Fellows are members of Parliament, and would certainly assist.

In the meantime the circular letter before us sets forth that it is constantly the case that on visiting a "restored" Church it is found that monuments and painted glass, of which the existence is recorded in County Histories, have not only been removed from their original positions, but are no longer forthcoming; that inscribed slabs from tombs have been used to bridge over gutters or to receive hot-air gratings, or have been covered with tiles; that the ancient fonts have been removed, the old Communion Tables destroyed, the Jacobean oak pulpits broken up or mounted on stone pedestals, and not unfrequently the old and curious Communion Plate sold. The architectural features and proportions of the Churches have in innumerable instances been modified, especially so far as regards the East windows, and the character of the Chancels generally.

The Society strongly insists on the great historical value of our ancient Parish Churches, every one of which contains in its fabric the epitome of the History of the Parish, frequently extending over many centuries. What would appear to the Society to be the duty of the guardians of these National Monuments is not to "restore" them, but to preserve them—not to pretend to put a Church back into the state in which it may be supposed to have been at any given epoch, but to preserve so far as practicable the record of what has been its state during all the period of its history.

The Society does not overlook the necessity of adapting the buildings to the wants of the present day, but it contends that the greatest part of the mischief that has been done to our Churches has not added to the convenience of the buildings, which is in no way aided by destroying the more recent portions of a Church and re-building them in a style which imitates the older portions, nor by the destruction of furniture and monuments only because they are not of the date which is assumed to be that of the Church. New work done to suit new wants and not pretending to be other than it is will carry on the history of the building in the same manner as did the old, and the Society has no wish to prevent that from being done. It only urges that the ancient record should not be wiped out to make room for the new, nor falsified by making the new a servile imitation of the old. Uniformity of style was very rarely a characteristic of our old Churches, and a part of the building or a piece of furniture in it is to be judged, not by its conformity to this or that style, but by its fitness for its place and for the work it has to do.

It is feared that the use of the word Restoration has itself been the cause of much mischief, and has made men think that the destruction of the later features of a building is a gain by itself, and the Society therefore urges that these later features are just as important in the history of the building as the older, for it is by them that its continuous history is recorded. To replace them by modern imitations of the earlier work not only destroys so much of the record, but discredits what is allowed to remain by confusing it with that which is not what it professes to be.

## History.

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### DOMESDAY MEASURES OF LAND.

THOSE who have perused "*Domesday Studies*"<sup>1</sup> will have observed that two papers of marked originality and ability are contained in the first volume, which deal with that notoriously difficult problem, Domesday measures of land. These are Canon Isaac Taylor's "*The Plough and the Ploughland*," and Mr. O. C. Pell's "*A New View of the Geldable Unit of Assessment in Domesday*." It is with certain points in the latter that I propose to deal.

Mr. Pell has studied the subject of his paper long and deeply: he has gone into the subject far more thoroughly than I, or perhaps anyone else, can profess to have done. To criticise his views, therefore, may seem somewhat presumptuous. Yet his earnest efforts to solve a hitherto insoluble problem assure one that he will not object to a discussion on the theory he propounds.

In Canon Taylor's lucid paper he has kept the extra complication caused by the use of the "*Anglicus Numerus*" (the practice of counting twelve as ten) well in the background. The problem is difficult enough as it stands, without this distracting addition, and when we can agree upon our first principles, we can then advance in due course to the modifications involved by the "*Anglicus Numerus*." Unfortunately, Mr. Pell deems it necessary to place this difficulty in the forefront of his argument, and thus to lead us to giddy heights of calculation which few brains, from what I hear, can successfully scale.

Let me start from a point of perfect agreement. Mr. Pell and I have both independently arrived at the conclusion that the "*geldable hide of Domesday*" contained 120 acres. I further say that this hide contained four geld virgates, each of thirty geld acres, and that this never varied. Mr. Pell, on the other hand, holds that this "*certainly is a fallacy*" and that "*the virgate of the Domesday hide was as often as not 20 or 24 [acres]; and six of 20 acres and five of 24 acres are just as often to be met with as 4 of thirty*." I must regretfully observe on this, that if there is one thing more certain than another in Domesday, it is that the

<sup>1</sup> *Domesday Studies*, Longmans, 1888.



"virgate" was essentially and always the *quarter* of the geldable hide.<sup>2</sup>

But while Mr. Pell rightly urges that "the Domesday geldable hide, &c., had one and the same meaning all over England . . . . had a fixed and certain meaning," and while he reminds us "that the terms made use of in reference to the lands on which the taxation was laid must have been of a kind so certain and so sure, that when any portion of the survey was sent to the King's officers, it would carry on the face of it the information required, without the need of a local interpreter to explain the meaning,"—yet, as we shall see, he advances the theory that the geldable "hide" represented an area of *terra lucrabilis* varying from 120 to 288 acres.

The fact is, as I have elsewhere explained, that even if we admit (as many would not) that the measures of assessment in Domesday, viewing it merely as a rate book, are now virtually clear, the true difficulty yet remains. It is when we endeavour from these measures of assessment to deduce the actual areas, or to fix, so to speak, the relation of assessment to area, that we find ourselves all at sea. Canon Taylor has attempted the task for the carucates in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and appears, within that limited area, to have attained marked success. Mr. Pell's more ambitious and far-reaching scheme comprises both hides and carucates, and is, indeed, of universal application.

Now when we find, as we do in Domesday, the relation of geldable hides to area continually and widely varying, we have only two alternatives. Either we must infer, as I do myself, that there was no necessary relation between area and assessment; or, we must allow ourselves considerable license in assigning a denotation to the word "hide." It is the latter course that Mr. Pell has adopted. If I have extracted his meaning aright, he requires us to accept the following axioms, by which he is enabled, in every case, to connect assessment with area.

(1) The Domesday hide of 120 acres represents in two-field manors (*i.e.* including fallow) an area of 240 acres of arable land.

(2) The Domesday hide of 120 acres represents in three-field manors (*i.e.* including fallow) 180 acres of arable land.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, the returns *passim* of the geld paid in 1084, otherwise known as the "geld-inquest." And note that at Wichampton, Dorset, the " $\frac{1}{3}$  hide" of that survey equates the " $1\frac{1}{3}$  virgate" of Domesday (79 b. 1.) But, indeed, the fact is self-evident. For if, as Mr. Pell insists above, "the terms made use of in reference to the lands," etc. etc., what could be the use of a term of assessment ("virgate") which might mean a quarter, a fifth, or a sixth of the hide unit, and which would need, in every case, "a local interpreter to explain its meaning"?

(3) But as (he holds) the fallow land or "idle shift" was sometimes "*extra hidam* and not geldated," and sometimes, on the contrary, "*infra hidam*,"—though "under what circumstances and why," says Mr. Pell, "this should have been the case, it is hard to say,"—the Domesday hide would, in the latter case, represent no more, in either manor, than 120 acres.

(4) If reckoned by the *Anglicus numerus* these three areas would respectively represent 288, 216, and 144 acres.

(5) But the six areas at which we have arrived do not exhaust the list. For not only may the "hide" in two adjacent manors represent quite different areas, and be reckoned by the smaller or by the greater hundred, but even in one and the same manor, it may (? if convenient) be reckoned at one place by the ordinary counting, and at another "*Anglico numero*."<sup>3</sup>

(6) By a far more surprising postulate, Mr. Pell asks us to admit that when Domesday gives us an assessment in terms of hides and virgates, or in terms of hides and acres, it means one thing in one place, and in another something utterly different. Keeping still to Cambridgeshire, as Mr. Pell's special county, we find two manors assessed thus:—

"In Melleburne . . . . . 11 hidæ et 1 virgata" (191 b).

"Burewelle . . . . . Ibi X hidæ et 1 virgata" (192 b).

In the first case, according to Mr. Pell, Domesday means what it says, viz., two hides and a virgate; in the second, it means ten times a-hide-and-a-virgate, viz.:—ten hides and ten virgates. So, too, when Domesday assesses two manors thus:—

"In Badburgh . . . . . II hidas et dimidiam et xxiv acras"  
(194 a).

"Escelforde pro ix hidis et xxiv acris se defendit" (191 a).

Mr. Pell asks us to admit that, in the first, Domesday means what it says, viz. 2½ hides + 24 acres, but that in the second its meaning is: 9 times a hide and 24 acres, or, as he expresses it, "9 (1 hide + 24 acres)." And for this he gives us no reason. But, further, he claims that in the first instance, the hide should be reckoned "by

<sup>3</sup> For instance, of four Cambridgeshire manors we read in Domesday:—

"Belesham. Ibi sunt IX hidæ . . . . . In dominio V hidæ" (190 b.)

"Dodinton pro V hidis . . . . . In dominio II hidæ et dimidia" (191 b.)

"Burewelle. Ibi X hidæ et I virgata . . . . . In dominio III hidæ et XL acre"  
(192 b.)

"Ely pro X hidis . . . . . In dominio V hide" (192 a.)

For the first case Mr. Pell claims to reckon *none* of the "hides" by the *Anglicus numerus*; in the next, to reckon *only the first* (5 hides); in the next to reckon *only the second* (3 hides and 40 acres); in the next, to reckon *both*!

the greater hundred," while, in the second, it should not. And for this also he gives us no reason.

(7) By way of climax to these postulates, we are asked to believe that the Domesday survey was drawn up on two different, nay, opposite systems. We are told by Mr. Pell that "in most" counties "the standard geldable hide or carucate is placed first, and then the number of *terre* therein is stated. But in Dorset, Middlesex, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Sussex, etc., the returns are the reverse of this: the '*terra ad carucam*' appears to be the standard geldated area of 120a; and the word '*hide*' in Dorsetshire, etc., and the term '*car. terre ad geldum*' in Yorkshire, are used to express the area of one ploughland in the manor; so that the terms '*terra est car.*' in Dorset, and '*car. potest ibi ere*' (*sic*) in Yorkshire imply what the geldable hide implies in other counties, viz. 120a of taxed land."

It is proverbial that figures can prove anything, but really, if any mathematical mind will compute the number of combinations and permutations which the concession of these axioms would render possible, it will be pretty obvious that, with such admissions one could prove any theory on earth.

I shall address myself at once to this last postulate, because it is the most extravagant of all, and the most easily disposed of. As Mr. Pell justly observes:—

"A document like the Domesday book was a '*schedule*' for the purposes of ascertaining the assessment of the whole country, or the number of pound-paying units therein; so we must naturally think of it as formed on one and the same plan of counting throughout the whole," etc. etc.<sup>4</sup>

Yet he asks us to believe that for a few counties, scattered, different, and so widely apart as Yorkshire, Middlesex, and Dorset, the survey was formed on a separate plan, outwardly the same as the general plan, but, in fact, diametrically opposite. To show how bewildering such a scheme would be, I append some specimen measures from Mr. Pell's own instances—

YORKSHIRE. "In Cheream VIII carucatæ ad geldum, Et iiii\* carucæ possunt esse" (307 a.)

LINCOLNSHIRE. "In Scotere . . . . VIII\* carucatæ terre ad geldum. Terra ad XII carucas" (345 b.)

DORSET. "Pidere . . . . (T.R.E.) geldabat pro X hidis. Terra est VI\* carucis" (82 b.)

SOMERSET. "Geveltone T.R.E. geldabat pro VIII\* hidis. Terra est VIII carucis" (96 b.)

According to all Domesday scholars the *first* figures, in every case, are those of the assessment for geld. A glance at these four instances will shew how obvious this is. Mr. Pell, however, asserts that, on the contrary, the carucate "*ad geldum*" of Lincolnshire meant the assessment for geld, but the carucate "*ad geldum*" of Yorkshire meant just the reverse, and had nothing to do with the

<sup>4</sup> *Domesday Studies*, p. 350.



geld: the "geldabat pro  $x$  hidis" of Somerset meant: "paid geld on so many hides (of assessment)," but the "geldabat pro  $x$  hidis" of Dorset meant just the reverse, and had nothing to do with the geld! According to him the geld-assessment was denoted by the figures over which I have placed an asterisk. But he goes further still. He holds that in one and the same county the uniform formula may be sometimes read one way and sometimes the other, that is, may sometimes mean what it says and may sometimes mean the reverse.<sup>5</sup>

MIDDLESEX (Tyburn) "Pro V hidis se defendit, Terræ est III\* carucis" (128 b).

(Tottenham) "Pro V\* hidis se defendit. Terra est X carucis" (130 b).

Here, in the first instance, according to Mr. Pell, the geld-assessment is the second figure; in the second, it is the first.

Returning, however, to Dorset, as the typical county for this hypothesis, we first note that Mr. Pell is unfortunate in having here the testimony of the Exon Domesday. The formula there employed is that a manor "reddidit geldum pro  $x$  hidis. Has possunt arare  $y$  carucæ." Mr. Pell quotes this formula throughout, but in the case of Dorset, as we have seen, contends that the manor "paid geld" not (as the formula implies) on  $x$  units of assessment, but on  $y$ . In fact he asks us to read the formula topsy turvy. It is difficult to treat seriously so eccentric a theory.

Fortunately, however, in the case of Dorset, we have at hand a test from which there can be no appeal. This is the so-called "geld-inquest" of 1084. As this record is concerned solely with the collection of the tax, it has nothing to do with area. We can therefore be certain that, in its figures, we are dealing with units of assessment. Now if we take Hugh de Port's manor of Compton, in the Hundred of Frampton, Dorset, we read "geldabat pro X hidis. Terra est VIII carucis." According to Mr. Pell this should mean that it was assessed at 8 geldable units, but our record proves on the contrary that the assessment, as we should expect, was 10. The Count of Mortain's manor of Shilvington (80, a 1) "geldabat pro una hida et una virgata. Terra est I carucæ." In our record it is assessed at 5 virgates. At Wichemetune "habet Hubertus unam virgatam terræ et terciam partem unius virgatæ" (79 b 1). Our record assesses him at  $\frac{1}{3}$  hide.<sup>6</sup> Thurstan Fitz Rolf's manor

<sup>5</sup> "The returns in this county are mostly, though not all, made as in Dorset."

<sup>6</sup> These three cases have a special value, in giving us 4 virgates as the notori-

of "Stockes geldabat pro I hida" and "pro III virgatis terræ" (80 b. 2). In our record his assessment is "VII virgatas." In the same hundred the Abbot of Abbotsbury holds two manors: "Widetone geldabat pro 11 hidis et dimidia. Terra est IIII carucis." "Atrerro geldabat pro 11 hidis. Terra est II carucis." According to Mr. Pell, this should imply a geld-assessment of 6 units for the two. According to everyone else it would imply  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . We turn to our record and we find that the assessment is  $4\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>7</sup> Again the Abbey of Holy Trinity of Caen held the manor of Tarrant of which we read:—"Tarente (T.R.E.) geldabat pro X hidis. Terra est VIII carucis" (79 a 1). Here again our record proves that the assessment was not 8 but 10 units,<sup>8</sup> as indeed, I must repeat, is transparently clear from the language of Domesday itself. It is needless to multiply such tests as these. So far as Mr. Pell's elaborate calculations are based on this amazing hypothesis, they are not merely weakened: they are simply blown to pieces.

Let us now turn to the practical application of Mr. Pell's theories to Domesday. He argues that "the Norman King's officers" had "two ways" of "forming from the primary returns an assessment which would be of one uniform standard."<sup>9</sup> It is with the first of these I now deal. Mr. Pell writes:—

"In some cases they appear to have stated the number of hides, terræ ad car., or carucatæ, or areas, at one-sixth less of the actual number, six hides or car. being reckoned as five . . . . Of instances of the first method of reduction there is that of Clifton in Yorkshire, D. Bk. Tom. I. fol. 313a."

Quoting *in extenso* the Domesday entry, he asserts that manors amounting in the aggregate to 18 carucates less a bovatæ are reckoned in Domesday as 15 "carucates less a bovatæ. "If," he adds, "for the purposes of simplicity, we add a bovatæ to each side of the equation, we shall then have 18 carucatæ in area reduced by the king's officers to 15 carucatæ ad geldum."<sup>10</sup> Now, if this were so, it would certainly afford a striking confirmation of Mr. Pell's hypothesis, and we cannot wonder that as a test case, he works out "the details of this manor." Unfortunately, however, for him, the very figures he quotes from Domesday convict him of error, for the

ous equivalent of the hide. Another case in point may here be cited, namely that of "Dentune," Sussex (*Domesday*, I., 29) where  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides + two hides and two virgates = 5 hides.

<sup>7</sup> Of which he paid on  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and was excused (according to rule) the one which was on his demeane.

<sup>8</sup> Of which 3 hides  $3\frac{1}{2}$  virgates were assessed on the *dominium*, and 6 hides  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate on the *villani*.

<sup>9</sup> *Domesday Studies*, p. 353.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

aggregate of the items amounts to 18 carucates *plus* a bovat; so that if "we add a bovat to each side of the equation," we have to account, not for "18 carucates," but for 18 carucates *plus two bovates*. This flaw is beyond dispute. But we must go further still. Before we can admit that, according to Domesday, three and three make five, we must have overwhelming evidence of the fact. Where is it? Our evidence points in the very contrary direction. Let Mr. Pell examine the entries relating to "Fostun" (following Clifton), to "Massan" and to "Welle" (312 a), to "Witwn" and to "Ellintone" (311 b), to "Catrice" and "Scurnetone" (310 b), and to "Ghellinges" (309 a),<sup>11</sup> and in all these cases, taken at random, he will find that the total given by Domesday is in strict accordance with the aggregate of the factors. What then is the explanation of the Clifton case? We have seen that the deduction of a sixth will not, as alleged, account for it. The true explanation I take to be this: it is simply one of Domesday's blunders. Take for instance the Soke of Gayton in Lincolnshire. There (338 b) the items are given in full and their aggregate is  $24\frac{1}{2}$  car.  $1\frac{1}{3}$  bov. Yet Domesday totals it as  $25\frac{1}{2}$  car.  $1\frac{1}{3}$  bov. Even on the very same page as Clifton we have 48 car. "ad geldum" reckoned up as totalling 50 car. "ad geldum." And if this is possible, where the items are given, it is so *a fortiori*, where they are omitted and subsequently, as in the Clifton case, added by interlineation. - Thus, still on the same page (363 a), we have six manors assessed collectively at 32 "carucatæ ad geldum." Then comes the interlineator, who gives their respective assessment (amounting to  $41\frac{1}{2}$  car.) which, by the way, he himself totals as 41 car. After such an instance as this, found by the very side of Clifton, it will probably be admitted that my explanation is, to say the least, legitimate,<sup>12</sup> and that the solitary case to which Mr. Pell so confidently appeals<sup>13</sup> is shown to be nothing more than a Domesday blunder.

I will now glance at what I consider Mr. Pell's most dangerous postulate, and examine, as a typical case, his treatment of the Burwell entry:—

"Burewelle tenet abbas de Ramsey. Ibi X hidæ et I virgata. Terra est XVI carucis. In dominio III hide et XL acre" (*Domesday*, I., 192 b.)

Here Mr. Pell claims: (1) that "X hidæ et I virgata" should be taken to mean 10 hides + 10 virgates, "10 (1 h. + 1 v.)," but that

<sup>11</sup> This is a strong case, because the aggregates amount to  $27\frac{1}{2}$  carucates and  $71\frac{1}{2}$  carucates and are absolutely correct.

<sup>12</sup> For other instances of Domesday blunders, see the instances given by Canon Taylor (*Domesday Studies*, p. 175) and myself (*Ibid.*, p. 123).

<sup>13</sup> *Domesday Studies*, pp. 188, 356, etc.



"III hidæ et XL acre" should only mean 3 hides + 40 acres; (2) that "X hidæ et I virgatæ" should be reckoned by the ordinary hundred, but "III hide et XL acre" should be reckoned (*Anglico numero*) by the "greater hundred;" (3) that "I virgata" means, not a quarter of the (*geldable*) "hida," but "the virgate of the manor."<sup>14</sup>

That the first and last of these propositions are erroneous is matter, not of opinion, but of absolute demonstration. The assessment of Burwell parish had been 15 hides. The assessments of its component manors were these:—<sup>15</sup>

	h.	v.
Ramsey Abbey,	10.	1.
Count Alan,	2½.	
Ditto. ditto.,	1.	1.
Charteris,	½.	
Hardwin d'eschalers,	½.	
	<hr/>	
	15.	0.

It is obvious, from these figures, that the Ramsey Manor was assessed at ten hides *plus* one virgate, not at ten hides *plus* ten virgates, and, further, that this virgate was the fourth of a *geldable* hide (30 acres), *not* the "virgate of the manor" (here 24 acres).<sup>16</sup> But, this being so, what are we to say to Mr. Pell's elaborate calculations, based on these two erroneous propositions, and satisfactorily accounting, by their help, for every acre in the manor?

Further, when we read that "*Buruwelle pro XV hidis se defendit*" [*? defendebat*<sup>17</sup>] *et modo pro X hidis*,"<sup>18</sup> we have an instance, surely, of the correctness of the view that assessment was not necessarily dependent on area, *i.e.*, against Mr. Pell's theory.

The case of Shelford is almost as strong. Of the Abbot of Ely's manor there we read in *Domesday*:—"pro IX hidis et XXIII acris se defend[it]." Here again Mr. Pell claims to render this as "9 (1 h. + 24 a.)," viz. 9 hides *plus* 9 times 24 acres. But as he here reckons

<sup>14</sup> *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, pp. 83, 98; *Domesday Studies*, pp. 332-3.

<sup>15</sup> Hamilton's *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>16</sup> "The real virgate was 24" acres, in this case, writes Mr. Pell, who accordingly computes his 10 virgates at "240" acres.

<sup>17</sup> This looks to me like an erroneous extension, and a further hint that in this so-called "original return" (*Birch's Domesday Book*, p. 41) we have nothing, as I believe, but a copy, which should be used with caution.

<sup>18</sup> Hamilton, p. 4.

the hides by the ordinary hundred, he views the additional 24 acres as merely converting them into hides "by the greater hundred" (*Anglico numero*). Really the *Anglicus numerus* is Mr. Pell's "Deus ex machina." What possible right can a commentator have to say that on the very same page, Domesday uses "hida" and "hida et XXIII acre" as equivalent terms of assessment, and to assume for the purpose, that "hida" is in the first case, and is not in the second, reckoned *Anglico numero*? As a matter of fact, if we take Domesday to mean here what it says, the aggregate assessment of the manors is within 7 acres of the 20 hides at which the parish is assessed—a discrepancy of only  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.<sup>10</sup> But Mr. Pell's reading would involve a discrepancy of nearly 200 acres.

These criticisms are of special importance in their bearing on Mr. Pell's interpretation of "the only direct statement in Domesday book itself, from which the area of the carucate can be inferred."<sup>20</sup> The entry runs: "In communi terra sti. Martini sunt cccc acræ et dim. quæ fiunt II. solinos et dim." (2.a.). This can be rendered: "four hundred acres and a half," or (as Canon Taylor does) "four hundred acres and a half (hundred)," or (as Mr. Pell does) "four hundred times an acre and a half." In this last case, its phrase would be a strange substitute for "DC acre." I am not, however, at all sure that we have a right to assume that this passage is intended to give us "the area of the carucate." It was not the intention of Domesday Book to afford miscellaneous and familiar information; and to state that so many acres would make so many "solins" would be a mere impertinence at a time when the fact would be known to everyone. It seems at least possible that these "solins" may be units of assessment independent of area.

The last case I shall discuss should be Mr. Pell's strongest, for it is that of his own Wilburton Manor, and he has gone into it in great detail. The Domesday entry is:—

"Ibi v hidæ. Terra est vii. carucis. In dominio iii hidæ et i virgata, et ibi iii carucæ. Ibi iiii sochemanni et ix. villani cum iiii carucis." (192 a).

Here, says Mr. Pell, the "V hidæ" were reckoned *Anglico numero*, that is, were hides of 144 acres, but the "III hidæ" were not, and, therefore, were hides of 120 acres. The "III hidæ et I virgata,"

<sup>10</sup> It is important to observe that, although Mr. Pell accepts the Domesday assessment ("IX hide et XXIII acre"), Mr. Hamilton's *Inquisitio*, of which the authority has been upheld as higher, gives that assessment as "IX hide et XXIX acre" (p. 47), which, of itself, would be destructive of Mr. Pell's hypothesis. In any case the discrepancy (5 acres) confirms my view that in the *Inquisitio* and the Exchequer Domesday we have merely two independent compilations from the original returns.

<sup>20</sup> Canon Taylor (*Domesday Studies*, p. 160).

moreover, does not mean three hides and one virgate, but three hides and three virgates (this is the fallacy I exposed under Burwell). And as these were hides of 120 acres and virgates of 24 acres (which was here "the virgate of the manor"), the "III hidæ et I virgata" really means three units of 144 acres, i.e., three hides *Anglico numero*.<sup>21</sup> That is to say, that "III hidæ et I virgata" means "three hides and three virgates," which means three hides ("Anglico numero")! Now, all this jugglery, I venture to think, is sheer illusion. Domesday gives us five hides as the assessment of the manor, and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  hides as that portion of it which was on the *dominium*. The balance,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  hides, was, as elsewhere, on the *homines*. The meaning is quite plain: the explanation quite simple.

Then, as to the ploughs. The Domesday formula is singularly clear: "Terra est  $x$  carucis. In dominio  $y$  carucæ: Villani, &c.,  $x - y$  carucas." So here: "There is land for seven *carucæ*. In demesne are three *carucæ*. The sochmen and villeins have four *carucæ*." But Mr. Pell quotes by the side of this what he terms "the primary return, contained in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*." This description is misleading. The *Inquisitio* stands, at best, on the same footing with Domesday, as an abstract from the same original returns, and is more probably, in my opinion, a mere copy of an abstract. Here, however, is the relevant entry: "VI carucis ibi est terra. IIII carucæ.....in dominio. IIII carucæ hominum." Now, those entries cannot both be right, and this entry is on the face of it corrupt, for whereas the Domesday formula involves an equation <sup>22</sup> ( $7 = 3 + 4$ ), we have here:  $6 = 4 + 4$ . The "VI" should clearly be "VII," and the first "IIII" should clearly be "III." Indeed, if Mr. Pell had referred to Mr. Hamilton's edition of the text, he would have found that two out of the three MSS. read "VII" for "VI." He has, however, accepted the spurious entry, and explained it with as much ease as the genuine one in Domesday:—

"These six car. of the 'Inquisitio Eliensis' of 120 juxta estimationem Anglorum' 6 (144), exactly equal 864 acres" [the acreage to be accounted for]; "or, as Domesday Bk. puts it, 3 lord's car. of 144 (120 'Anglico numero') plus 4 average car. of 108 acres to tenants exactly make the 864 acres. The eight

<sup>21</sup> *Domesday Studies*, pp. 334-5, 355-6.

<sup>22</sup> See, in illustration of this, the manors preceding and succeeding it in the *Inquisitio*. Charteris, for instance, is specially interesting as containing the equation: III carucæ = VI boves + II carucæ et II boves. Here we have the eight oxen vividly equating the ox team ("caruca"), and thus confirming my declared conviction "that the 'caruca' of *Domesday* stands for a normal team of eight oxen" (*Domesday Studies*, p. 209), whether on the *dominium* or not.



ploughs of the lord and men of the Inquisitio Eliensis have an average terra of 108 each over the manor," etc., etc.<sup>23</sup>

What can we say of such a case as this? Here, in Mr. Pell's own stronghold, he selects a test by which to prove the same rule as at Clifton, and, here as at Clifton, satisfactorily, by his own process, accounts for the exact amount entered in the record. But when we find as we do in both cases, that the amount is purely imaginary and based on a mere clerical error, what becomes of the process? The credit which it has gained by accounting so exactly for any entry that can be found in Domesday is surely at an end. The proof, if I may be allowed the expression, of his great Domesday cryptogram, is found to consist, in each case, of a series of arbitrary assumptions, which break down, as we have seen above, when exposed to the test of fact.

It is the very importance and originality of Mr. Pell's process which has led me to criticise it so closely. For, as has been said: "This erudite essay involves results, if its conclusions be accepted, of no ordinary historical and ethnological importance." Nor, even if we have to reject Mr. Pell's main thesis, need we therefore be ungrateful for his arduous labours or for the light his researches have thrown on primitive measures of land.

J. H. ROUND.

<sup>23</sup> *Domesday Studies*, p. 355.

## REVIEW.

ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—By THE REV. W. DENTON, M.A.  
London (Bell & Sons), 1888. 8vo. pp. viii. 337.

THE author of this book, who was Rector of St. Giles', Cripplegate, concerning which parish he published a small volume of Records in 1883, died while the last proof-sheets of the work were awaiting revision, so that though he practically finished his labour of love, he did not live to enjoy its completion. We are informed in the Preface that he had also collected materials for a sketch of the ecclesiastical state of England in the fifteenth century; this, had it been written, might have been a valuable introductory study to precede the recent work of Father Gasquet on the suppression of the monasteries. The book actually before us is a solid one, bristling with authorities and references to a wide range of printed matter. The writer has not gone to many manuscript sources, but has made diligent use of the recent numerous publications which contribute to his subject. So much material has within the last twenty years been made accessible, that

there is ample scope among these for a "Description of England" as old Harrison would have called it.

There is not, however, about this book the clear view and arrangement of Harrison, and the method adopted, without any broad guiding lines or principal divisions, gives it amidst such a crowd of details, at first sight, the effect of patchwork; and this in spite of certain groupings of sub-heads. Probably had the author lived he might have indicated his intention; what we find is a somewhat miscellaneous survey of rural life, agriculture, produce, and highways, the condition of the labourers and middle classes, the state of the nobility and aristocracy. Ecclesiastical matters are little touched on. More than a third of the volume is occupied by an introduction in two parts, the first of which is devoted to a sketch of the institutions and social condition of the people in the thirteenth century, the period of great achievement, intellectual and material progress, constitutional liberty, wise jurists, growing commerce and art. This was the golden time of the middle ages in England; which suffered eclipse—according to our author—by the death of Edward I. in 1307. "In his tomb was buried the promise of the continued prosperity of this country. The one hundred and eighty years lying between his death and the accession of the house of Tudor were years of violence and suffering to the people of England."

The key-note is here given to the main idea of the second part of the introduction, which traces the decline of the country after Edward's death, the destructive effects of the French and Scotch wars, the ravages of famine, murrain, and "black death," the consequences of mis-government, and the poverty and sufferings of the people, culminating in the battle of Bosworth. Throughout England the progress of society in material wealth, which was so marked a feature of the reign of Edward I., had not merely been arrested; civilization and refinement had gone back, and England at the accession of Henry VII. was far behind the England of the thirteenth century. "What was true of morals and material wealth was true also of art," which "in all its forms had become debased with the debasement of the artist." With the accession of the Tudors, a series of dictators suited on the whole "to the condition of society then so sadly out of joint, and a kingdom which seemed on the point of dissolution," the author closes his introductory survey. In spite of the black picture which, though no doubt true in the main, seems to us somewhat over-drawn, this second part commends itself as one of the best portions of the book, full of thoughtful study and inference. Particularly interesting are the first dozen pages, in which the disastrous effects of the victory at Bannockburn in retarding the development of civilization in Scotland and her union with England, and the retrograde policy of Bruce, are forcibly pointed out.

The body of the book opens with the difficult subject of population, which from all available data is estimated to have varied a little under or over two millions from the time of the Conquest, rising till the death of Edward II., then falling off, lowest about 1377; not  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1485. Passing to the rural aspect of England, the picture given of the forests and fens, moors and morasses, which covered the country on every side, prepares us for the statement that "between the times of the Norman Conquest and the battle of Bosworth field, the progress of agriculture in

England was almost as imperceptible as the growth of its population." A curious section on manures and the yield of the land brings out that "it was clear at the end of the fifteenth century that the fertility of the arable land of England was well-nigh exhausted." This led to the wide-spread conversion into sheep-pastures which caused much misery and lamentation in the next century, but which in the end restored productiveness to the land still retained by it. Enclosures of waste, game and game laws, roads and bridges, water carriage, highway-men and foot-pads,—all these about which much interesting information is gathered together may be said to be connected with the land and soil; so is a section on travelling, leading to another on the wages to members of parliament (which were partly to cover the expense of their journey to and fro). An excursus on the history of posting letters winds up this first chapter.

It is unnecessary to go through the two remaining chapters, which deal in the same way with such topics as health, food, wages, taxation, the poor, farm and home life, and the different grades of the middle classes; then with the nobility, their retinues, wealth, and relative position in the kingdom, treating of several individual instances by way of illustration, such as the Dukes of Northumberland and Norfolk, Sir John Paston, and Cardinal Kemp. The volume is a very storehouse of information, the fruit of much erudition and research, which often oversteps indeed the limits of the matter in hand. The historical student of manners and society, who finds his materials for a given epoch often fragmentary, rarely complete, is forced to resort for comparison and illustration to the known facts of earlier or later date; the temptation is great to build up inferences thereon, which no doubt may be frequently done with justice, but they should be received with caution. Again, it is an old story that it is dangerous to generalise on one example; in a book of this sort it would be strange if all such rocks were avoided. Speaking of honey in the fourteenth century, it is said to have "almost disappeared from the markets, because the bees had died from murrain." There may be another foundation for the statement. Of the two authorities given one shows that a murrain greatly destroyed the bees at one place in Norfolk during twenty years (1371 to 1391) and then entirely ceased. Roger's *History of Prices* is cited to show that honey disappears from the list from 1307 to 1328. Rogers, however, says nothing about murrain. Again, the "cadorators," or buyers of the dead in time of pestilence, are only found in one village.

The circumstances under which the book appears make such fault-finding distasteful, and these remarks are merely made as warning. A few misprints, such as *Simon* for *Simeon* Luce twice, the omission of *Levi* in the late Leone Levi's name (p. 129), *Rye* for *New Romney* (p. 86, note), have escaped the corrector's eye. More serious is the error in the reference to the 5th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission (p. 86, note 2) as to the independent making of treaties of peace between the shipmen of the Cinque Ports and of France. This statement appears to require support.



## Literature.

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### THE WOOING OF EMER.

AN IRISH HERO-TALE OF THE 11TH CENTURY, TRANSLATED FROM THE  
ORIGINAL MS.

(Concluded from page 235.)

He then went on, and came to a large house in a great glen. There he met a maiden of fair make in the house. The maiden addressed him and bade him welcome. "Welcome thy coming, oh Cuchulaind!" said she. He asked whence she knew him. She answered that they both had been dear foster-children with Ulbeccan Sexa, "when I was there and thou learning sweet speech from him," said she. The maiden gave him to drink and to eat, and then he turned from her. He then met a brave youth who made the same welcome to him. They exchanged converse between them. Cuchulaind was asking to know the way to the dun of Scathach. The youth taught him the way across the Plain of Ill-luck which lay before him. On the hither half of the plain the feet of men would stick fast. On the further half the grass would rise and hold them fast on the points of its blades. The youth gave him a wheel, and told him to follow its track thence across one-half of the plain. Then he gave him an apple, and told him to follow the ground where the apple would run, and that in such wise he would reach the far end of the plain. Thus Cuchulaind went across the plain. He then proceeded further. The youth had also told him there was a large glen before him, and a single narrow path through it which was full of monsters that had been sent by Forgall to destroy him, and that was his road to the house of Scathach across terrible high strong districts. Each of them then wished a blessing to the other, Cuchulaind and the youth Eochu Bairche. He it was who taught him how he should win honour in the house of Scathach. The same youth also foretold him what he would suffer of hardships and straits in the Cattle-spoil of Cualgne. He also told him what evil and exploits and contests he would achieve against the men of Erinn.

Then Cuchulaind went on that road across the Plain of Ill-luck

and through the Perilous Glen as the youth had taught him. This was the road which Cuchulaind took, to the camp where the scholars of Scathach were. He asked where she was. "In yonder island," said they. "Which way must I go to her?" said he. "By the Bridge of the Cliff," said they, "and no man can cross it before he has achieved valour." For on this wise was that bridge. It had two low heads and the mid space, and whenever anybody would leap on its one head, the other head would lift itself up and throw him on his back. This is what some versions relate here, that a crowd of the warriors of Erin were in that dun learning feats from Scathach, viz. Ferdia, son of Daman, and Noise, son of Usnech, and Lochmor, son of Egomas, and Fiamain, son of Fora, and an innumerable host besides. But it is not told in this version that they were there at that time. Cuchulaind then tried three times to cross the bridge, and could not do it. The men jeered at him. Then he grew mad, and jumped on the head of the bridge, and made the hero's salmon-leap so that he got on its midst. And the other head of the bridge had not yet fully raised itself when he reached it, and threw himself from it, and was on the ground of the island.

He went to the dun, and struck the door with the shaft of his spear, so that it went through it. Scathach was then told. "True," said she, "someone who has achieved valour somewhere else." And from her she sent her daughter to know who the youth was. Then Uathach, the daughter of Scathach, went forth. She looked at him, but did not speak to him, so much did the striking shape which she saw on the youth move her desire. She went back to where her mother was, and praised to her the man whom she had seen. "The man has pleased thee," said her mother, "I see it by thee." "It is true," said the maiden. "He has pleased me," said she, "but sleep thou with him to-night, if that is what thou askest." "It is indeed not unpleasant to me," said Scathach, "if it be thy own will." Then the maiden served him with water and food, and looked to his pleasure. She made him boldly welcome in the shape of a servant (?) viz, profiting by it. Cuchulaind took hold of her, and broke her finger. The maiden shrieked. The whole household came to help, and the people of the dun arose. Then arose also a champion against him, viz. Cochar Cruifne, a warrior of Scathach's. He and Cuchulaind attacked each other, and fought together for a long time. Then the champion remembered his feats of valour, and Cuchulaind returned them as if he had been taught them from his youth, and the champion fell by him, and he struck his head off. Sorrowful was the woman Scathach at this. Then Cuchulaind said to her he

would take upon himself the work and service of the man that had fallen, so that he was the leader of her host and her champion in his stead. And Uathach then came and conversed with Cuchulaind.

On the third day the maiden advised Cuchulaind, that if it was to achieve valour that he had come, he should go through the hero's salmon-leap at Scathach, where she was teaching her two sons, Cuar and Cett, in the great yew tree, when she was there; that he should then set his sword between her two breasts until she gave him his three wishes, viz., to teach him without neglect, and that he might wed her (Uathach) without the payment of the wedding gift, and to tell him what would befall him; for she was a prophetess. Then Cuchulaind went to the place where Scathach was. He placed his two feet on the two edges of the basket of the *cless*, and bared his sword, and put its point to her heart, saying: "Death over thee!" said he. "Thy three wishes from me!" said she, "viz. thy three wishes as thou canst utter them in one breath." "They shall be taken," said Cuchulaind. He then pledged her. Other versions here say that Cuchulaind took Scathach with him to the shore, and lay with her there, and slept with her, and that it was then that she sang this, prophesying to him everything that would befall him, saying: "Welcome, oh" . . . . etc. But that is not told thus after this account. Uathach then slept with Cuchulaind, and Scathach taught him skill of arms.

During the time that he was with Scathach and the husband of Uathach, her daughter, a certain famous man who lived in Munster, viz. Lugaid, son of Nos, son of Alamac, the renowned king, and fosterbrother of Cuchulaind, went eastward with twelve chariot-chiefs of the high kings of Munster, to woo twelve maidens of the men of Mac Rossa. All these were betrothed to men before. When Forgall the Wily heard this, he went to Tara, and said to Lugaid that the best maiden in Erin, both in shape and chastity and handiwork, was living with him unmarried. Lugaid said it pleased him well. Then Forgall betrothed the maiden to the king, and the twelve daughters of the twelve lords of land in Bray besides to the twelve under-kings that were together with Lugaid. The king went along with Forgall to his dun for the wedding. When now Emer was brought to Lugaid to sit by his side, she took in both her hands his two cheeks, and laid it on the truth of his honour and his life, and confessed that it was Cuchulaind she loved, that Forgall was against it, that it was loss of honour for any one that would take her to wife. Then, from fear of Cuchu-



lained, Lugaid did not dare to sleep with Emer, and he returned home again.

Scathach was at that time carrying on war against other tribes, over which the Princess Aife was ruling. Then the two hosts assembled to fight. Cuchulaind was put in bonds by Scathach, and a sleeping potion had been given him before, that he might not go to the battle lest anything should happen to him there. As a precaution (?) she did this. Then forthwith out of his sleep started Cuchulaind after an hour. While anybody else would have slept twenty-four hours with this sleeping potion, it was only one hour for him. He then went with the two sons of Scathach against the three sons of Ilsuanach, viz., Cuar and Cett and Cruife, three warriors of Aife's. Alone he met them all three, and they fell by him. There was a meeting in battle on the next morning, and both hosts went until the two arrays were face to face. Then went the three sons of Euse Enchinde, viz. Círe and Bire and Blaicne, three other warriors of Aife, and began combat against the two sons of Scathach. They went on the path of feats. Scathach uttered a sigh at this, for she knew not what would come of it, first, as there was no third man with her two sons against those three, and then she was afraid of Aife, because she was the hardest woman-warrior in the world. Then Cuchulaind went up to her two sons, and sprang on the path, and met them all three, and they fell by him. Aife challenged Scathach to combat. Cuchulaind went up before Aife, and asked what it was she loved most. Scathach said: "What she loves most," said she, "is her two horses and her chariot and her charioteer." Cuchulaind and Aife went on the path of feats, and began combat there. Then Aife shattered Cuchulaind's weapon so that his sword was no longer than his fist. Then Cuchulaind said: "Ah," cried he, "the charioteer of Aife and her two horses and her chariot have fallen down in the glen, and have all perished!" At that Aife looked up. Then Cuchulaind approached her, seized her at her two breasts, took her on his back like a shoulder-load, and carried her with him to his own host. Then he threw her from him to the ground, and placed his bare sword over her. And Aife said: "Life for life, oh Cuchulaind!" "My three wishes to me!" said he. "Thou shalt have them, as they come with thy breath," said she. "These are my three wishes," said he, "thou to give hostage to Scathach, without ever afterwards opposing her, thou to be with me this night before thy dun, and to bear me a son." "I promise it all thus," said she. It was done in that wise.

Cuchulaind then went with Aife and slept with her that night.

Then Aife said she was with child, and that she would bear a boy. "I shall send him this day seven year to Erin," said she, "and do thou leave a name for him." Cuchulaind left a golden finger-ring for him, and said to her that he should go and seek him in Erin, when the ring would fit on his finger. And he said that Conla was the name to be given to him, and told her that he should not make himself known to any one, that he should not go out of the way of any man, nor refuse combat to any man.

Thereupon Cuchulaind returned back again to his own people, and came along the same road. He met an old woman on the road who was blind of her left eye. She asked him to beware and not be on the road before her. He said there was no room for a footing for him, save on the cliff of the sea which was beneath him. She besought him to leave the road to her. Then he left the road, except that his toes clung to it. When she passed over him she hit his great toe to throw him off the path down the cliff. He noticed it, and leapt the hero's salmon-leap up again, and struck the woman's head off. She was the mother of the three last warriors that had fallen by him, viz., Esse Enchinde, and in order to destroy him had come to meet him.

Thereafter the hosts went with Scathach to her own land, and hostages were given to her by Aife. And Cuchulaind stayed there for the day of his recovery.

After the full lore of his soldierly arts with Scathach had passed for Cuchulaind—as well the apple-feat as the thunder-feat, the blade-feat, the *foen*-feat, and the spear-feat, the rope-feat, the body-feat, the cat's-feat, the salmon-feat of a chariot-chief, the throw of the staff, the jump over . . . , the whirl of a brave chariot-chief, the spear of the bellows,<sup>1</sup> the *boi* of swiftmess, the wheel-feat, the *othar*-feat, the breath-feat, the *brud geme*, the hero's whoop, the blow . . . , the counter-blow, running up a lance and righting the body on its point, the scythe-chariot, and the hero's twisting round the

<sup>1</sup> This weapon (*gai bulga*) is thus described in the Book of Leinster, p. 87a: "It was set upon the stream and cast from between the toes. It made the wound of one spear in entering the body, and (embedded) it had thirty barbs to open, and could not be drawn out of the body unless it was cut open." With this weapon Cuchulaind killed Ferdiad in the *Táin Bó Cúalgne*. "His charioteer set the spear on the stream, and Cuchulaind caught it between the toes of his foot, and threw a cast of it at Ferdiad so that it passed through the firm deep iron girdle of refined iron, and broke the great stone, which was as large as a mill-stone, in three, and passed through the defences of his body into him, so that every joint and every limb of him was filled with its barbs. 'I have enough now,' said Ferdiad."

points of spears,—then came a message to him to return to his own land, and he took leave. Then Scathach told him what would befall him in the future, and sang to him in the seer's large shining ken,<sup>2</sup> and spake these words: "Welcome, oh victorious, warlike . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Then Cuchulaind went in his ship to reach Erin. This was the crew of the one ship, viz., Lugaid and Luan Da Mac Loich and Ferbaeth and Larin and Ferdiad and Drust, son of Serb. They went to the house of Ruad, King of the Isles, on Samuin night.<sup>4</sup> There were there before them Conall Cernach and Loegaire Buadach levying the tribute; for there was tribute at that time from the Isles of the Foreigners to the men of Ulster.<sup>5</sup> Then Cuchulaind heard a wailing

<sup>2</sup> *Imbas Forosnai*. This is the name of a mode of divination thus described in Cormac's glossary, written about 900 A.D. "The *Imbas Forosnai* sets forth whatever seems good to the seer (*file*) and what he desires to make known. It is done thus. The seer chews a piece of the red flesh of a pig, or a dog, or a cat, and then places it on a flagstone behind the door. He sings an incantation over it, offers it to the false gods, and then calls them to him. And he leaves them not on the next day, and chants then on his two hands, and again calls his false gods to him, lest they should disturb his sleep. And he puts his two hands over his two cheeks till he falls asleep. And they watch by him lest no one overturn him and disturb him till everything he wants to know is revealed to him, to the end of nine days, or of twice or thrice that time, or however long he was judged at the offering."

<sup>3</sup> It is impossible at the present stage of our knowledge of Irish to translate this poem. In it Scathach tells Cuchulaind of the part which he will play in the famous Cattle-spoil of Cualgne, when the "kine of Bray will be lifted," when he will be "alone against an immense herd." "The warriors of Cruachan, thou shalt scatter them." "Thy name shall reach the men of Alba." "Thirty years I reckon the strength of thy valour. Thence further I do not add."

<sup>4</sup> The eve of the first of November, All-Halloween.

<sup>5</sup> The following passage from the Book of Leinster (p. 171b) is of great value for our knowledge of the intercourse between the ancient Irish and the Scandinavians:—"And send also (says the Druid Cathbad to king Conchobor of Ulster) news and messages to thy absent friends, to Conall the victorious where he is levying tribute and tax in the lands of Lewis (*Leódus*), in the Shetlands (*Inse Cadd*) and in the Orkneys (*Inse Or[c]*), in the lands of Scythia and Dacia and Gothia and of the Northmen (*Northmann*), voyaging in the Sea of Wight (*Muir n-Icht*) and the Tyrrhene Sea, and plundering the roads of the Saxons. And send news and messages to thy absent friends to the meadow-lands of the Norse (*co iathaib Galleceda, co Galliathaib na n-Gall*), viz., to Amláib (or Olaib), the grandson of Iniscoa, the king of Lochlann, to Findmór, son of Rofer, the king of the seventh part of Lochlann, to Báre of the men of the Faroer (*Sciggire*), to the dun of the Fishercarls (*Piscarearla*), to Brodor Roth and Brodor Fidit, to Siugraid Soga, the king of Súdiam, to Sortadbud, the king of the Orkneys, to the seven sons of Romrach, to Hil, to Mael, to Muile, to Abram, son of Romrach, to Cet, son of Romrach, to Celg, son of Romrach, to Mod, son of Herling, to Conchobor the victorious, son of Artur, son of Bruide, son of Dungal, to the son of the king of Alba, and Clothra, daughter of Conchobor the Famous." Several Irish chiefs were then sent on this errand, with the Norseman Cano to guide them across the strait of the sea and the great ocean. They land in Lewis where they find Conall who sends on the summons to the meadow-lands of the Norse.



before him in the dun of the king. "What lament is that?" said Cuchulaind. "The daughter of Ruad is taken as tribute to the Fomori," said they. "It is therefore that the wailing is in the dun." "Where is the maiden?" said he. "She is on the shore below," said they. Cuchulaind went until he was near the maiden on the strand. He asked tidings of her. The maiden told him fully. "Whence do the men come?" said he. "From that distant island yonder," said she. "Be not here in sight of the robbers." He remained there awaiting them and killed the three Fomori in single combat. But the last man wounded him at the wrist. The maiden gave him a strip from her garment round his wound. He then went away without making himself known to the maiden. The maiden came to the dun and told her father the whole story. Thereafter Cuchulaind came to the dun like every other guest. Then Conall and Loegaire welcomed him. Many in the dun boasted of having killed the Fomori, but the maiden did not believe them. A bath was then prepared by the king, and each one was brought to her separately. Then Cuchulaind came like everybody else, and the maiden recognized him. "I shall give the maiden to thee," said Ruad, "and I shall pay her wedding-gift myself." "Not so," said Cuchulaind. "Let her come this day year to Erin after me, if it be pleasant to her, and she will find me there."

Cuchulaind then came to Emain and told his adventures there. When he had cast his fatigue from him, he set out for the rath of Forgall to seek Emer. He was a whole year near it, but could not approach her for the number of the watch. He came then at the end of the year. "It is to-day, oh Laeg," said Cuchulaind, "we have our meeting with the daughter of Ruad, but we know not the exact place, for we were not wise. Let us go," said he, "to the border of the land." When they were on the shore of Loch Cuan,<sup>6</sup> they beheld two birds on the sea. Cuchulaind put a stone in his sling and aimed at the birds. The men ran up to them after having hit one of the birds. When they came up to them this is what they saw, two women, the most beautiful in the world. These were Derbfor-gaill, the daughter of Ruad, and her handmaid. "Evil is the deed thou hast done, oh Cuchulaind," said she. "It was to meet thee we came, though thou hast hurt us." Cuchulaind sucked the stone out

These at once bring together a large host and fleet, and come to Lewis. Then all set sail for Ireland. When they reach the strait of the Mull of Kintyre (*sruthair na Múile Chind Tíre*, i.e. the North Channel), a tremendous gale scatters their fleet, and they land in Ireland in three different places.

<sup>6</sup> Strangford Lough.

of her with its clot of blood round it. "I shall not wed thee now," said Cuchulaind, "for I have drunk thy blood. But I shall give thee to my companion here, viz., to Lugaid of the Red Stripes." And it was done thus.

Cuchulaind then wanted to go to the rath of Forgall. And the scythe-chariot was prepared for Cuchulaind that day. It was called scythe-chariot (*carpat serrda*) from the iron scythes that were from it, or again because it was first invented by the Serians. He then arrived at the rath of Forgall, and jumped the hero's salmon-leap across the three ramparts, so that he was on the ground of the dun. And he dealt three blows in the liss, so that eight men fell from each blow, and one man escaped in the midst of each group of nine, viz., Scibur and Ibur and Cat, three brothers of Emer. Forgall then made a leap on to the rampart of the rath without, in fleeing from Cuchulaind, and he fell and was without life. Cuchulaind took Emer with him and her foster-sister, with their two loads of gold and silver, and took a leap back again across the third rampart with the two maidens and went forth.

Cries were raised around them from every direction. Scennmend<sup>7</sup> rushed against them. Cuchulaind killed her<sup>8</sup> on the ford, which is hence called the Ford of Scennmend. Thence they came to Glondath. There Cuchulaind killed hundred men of them. "Great is the deed (*glond*) which thou hast done," said Emer, "to have killed hundred armed able-bodied men." "Glond-áth shall be its name for ever," said Cuchulaind. He reached Cru Foit (Blood-turf). Its name was originally Rae-bán (White Field) until then. He dealt great angry blows on the hosts in that place, so that the streams of blood broke over it on each side. "The height is a turf of blood through thee to-day, oh Cuchulaind," cried the maiden. So hence it is called Crúfoit, viz., Cró-fót, i.e., Turf of Blood. The pursuers overtook them at Ath n-Imfúait on the Boyne. Emer left the chariot. Cuchulaind made a chase on the shore, so that the clods flew from the hoofs of the horses across the ford northward. He made another chase northward so that the clods flew from the hoofs of the horses over the ford southward. Hence it is called Ford of the Two Clods, from the clods hither and thither. Now Cuchulaind killed one hundred on each ford from Ath Scennmend at Ollbine to the Boyne of Bray, and he fulfilled all the deeds that he had vowed to the maiden, and he came safely out of it, and reached Emain Macha towards the darkness of that night. Emer was brought into the

<sup>7</sup> Forgall's sister.

<sup>8</sup> MS him.

Red Branch to Conchobor and to the men of Ulster, and they bade her welcome. There was a grim evil-tongued man of the men of Ulster in the house, viz., Bricriu of the Venomous Tongue, the son of Arba. It was then he said: "Forsooth, it will be disagreeable to Cuchulaind what will happen to-night, viz., the woman whom he brought with him will sleep with Conchobor. For with him is the deflowering of virgins before the men of Ulster ever." Cuchulaind grew mad when he heard that, and shook himself so that the cushion burst which was under him, and its feathers were flying about the house. He went out then. "This is very hard," said Cathbad, "but it is an ordinance to the king to do everything that Bricriu has said. Cuchulaind will slay him that will sleep with his wife." "Let Cuchulaind be called to us," said Conchobor, "to know if we can soothe his wrath." Then Cuchulaind came. "Arise," said Conchobor, "and bring me the herds that I have in Slieve Fuait." Then Cuchulaind went, and drove together whatever he found in Slieve Fuait of swine and stags, and of every sort of fowl game besides, and drove them in one drove with him to the meadow of Emain. Then his wrath had departed from him. A council was held by the men of Ulster about this affair. This was the resolution they arrived at, that Emer was to sleep that night with Conchobor, and Fergus and Cathbad in one bed with them to watch over the honour of Cuchulaind, and the men of Ulster should bless him if he accepted it. He did accept it, and it was done thus. Conchobor paid Emer's wedding-gift on the morrow, and Cuchulaind's honour-price was paid, and he slept then with his wife, and they did not separate after that until they both died. Then the chieftainry of the youths of Ulster was given to Cuchulaind. These were the youths in Emain at that time, about whom the poet spoke, setting forth their names:—

The youths of Emain, the fairest host,  
 When they were in the Red Branch,  
 Furbaide—white the rod—with Cuscraid and Cormac.  
 Conaing, Glasni, Glan, Fiachaig, and Findchad,  
 Cuchulaind, hard as steel and bright, the victorious son of Dechtire.  
 Fiachna, Follomain was there, Cacht, Mane, Crimthand,  
 The seven Manes of Sliab in Ohon, Bres, Nar, Lothor,  
 The six sons of Fergus were there, Ilarchless, Illand,  
 Fiamain, Bunne, Bri, Mul, Claidbech, Conri,  
 Laegaire Casa, Conall Claen, and the two Ethers noble and fair.  
 Mesdiad and Mesdedad, the beloved children of Amargen Giunnach,  
 Conchraid the son of Cas, from Sliab Smoil, Conchraid the son of Bad Bernad  
 Broin,  
 Conchraid the son of the Derg, the son of Find, Conchraid Suana the son of  
 Sailcend.



Aed the son of Finddery, Ollach Brec, Aed, the son of Findach, a host of strength,  
 Aed the son of Conall, Cirrid Cath, Aed the son of Dond, Aed the son of Duach,  
 Fergus the son of Lete, a bright festival, Fergus the son of Derg, the son of Dare.  
 Fergus the son of Ross—the verses say—Fergus the son of Dub, the son of Crimthand.  
 The three sons of Traiglethan—strong renown—Siduad, Currech and Carman.  
 The three sons of Ualend of the Battles, Naise and Anle and Ardan.  
 The three Flands, the three Finds, the three Conns of Ciul, the names of the nine sons of Sceol.  
 The three Faelans, the three Colla Cain, the three sons of Niall, the three sons of Sitgal.  
 Lon and Iliach, the most beautiful men, the foster-brothers of Cormac Crichid.  
 The three Dondgas the sons of Mac Rossa, the three Dungas, the three Daelgos.  
 The poets of Cormac Ciul, the nine sons of Lir, son of Eterscel,  
 His three pipers—fair the deed—Find, Eochaid, and Illand.  
 His horn-blowers of music next, the two Aeds and Firgein.  
 Three jesters to make sharp remarks, Athirne and Dree and Drobol.  
 His three distributors of renown, Find, Eruath, and Fatemain.  
 Three grandsons of Cletech—bright perfection—Uath, Urud and Aalinge.  
 Aed Eochaid, renowned of Emain, the two fair sons of Ilgaba,  
 The son of Bricriu who . . . . . with the youths of Emain.

KUNO MEYER.

## INDEX NOTES.

## 5.—OLD ENGLISH DRAMA.

III. Jonson (Ben), Every man in his humour, a comedie acted in the yeere 1598, by the then Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. London 1616. [Wheatley's divisions of act and scene are used.]

Account-books, merchants, iii. 3.  
 Adjection, addition, iv. 8.  
 Almanacks, iii. 4.  
 Apple squire, an attendant on women, iv. 10.  
 Apricots, growing of, at Hoxton, i. 2.  
 Archery at Finsbury, i. 1.  
 Arthur (King), sword of, alluded to, iii. 1.  
 Bacon (Roger) alluded to, i. 4.  
 Ballad singer, a term of contempt, iv. 2.  
 Bason, a cup, i. 5.  
 Bed-staff [a wooden pin stuck anciently on the sides of the bedstead to hold the clothes from slipping on either side—Johnson] used as weapon, i. 5.  
 Begging in Moorfields, ii. 4, 5.  
 Beer, ii. 5.  
 Bench, an idler on tavern benches, iv. 2.  
 Bevis (Sir) of Hampton, horse of, iii. 4, sword of, i. 1.  
 Black art, magic, necromancy, iv. 6.  
 Blue waiters, allusion to servants' livery, ii. 4.  
 Books on hawking and hunting, i. 1.

Boots, use of, noticed as a novelty, i. 5.  
 Bottom of packthread, ball of string, iv. 6.  
 Breakfast, bell ringing for [this would be somewhere about seven o'clock in the morning—Wheatley] ii. 2.  
 Breeches, allusion to the wearing of, ii. 2.  
 Brokers in Houndsditch, iii. 5.  
 Brown bill, a sort of pike with hooked point, iv. 8.  
 Burdello, a disorderly house, i. 2.  
 Burgullian, a bully, iv. 4.

Cannibalism, iii. 4.  
 Caps, flat, ii. 1.  
 Caps, worn by women, iii. 3.  
 Caract, the old form of carat, iii. 3.  
 Caraza (Hieronymo) alluded to, i. 5.  
 Cards, game of Gleeck alluded to "trick vied and revied"—[Gifford] iv. 2.  
 Cat, nine lives of, iii. 1.  
 Caterwauling, iv. 2.  
 Ceruse, a paint for the face, iv. 8.  
 Child's whistle, iii. 2.  
 Cob, the head of a herring, i. 4.  
 Cockscorn, a term of reproach, i. 1.  
 Coins, angels, iv. 9; a cross, iv. 9; guilders, iii. 1; halfpenny, ii. 1; shillings [of Edward IV. used for the game of shuffleboard—Wheatley] iii. 5; a teston, iv. 2; three farthing piece, ii. 1; Spanish, ii. 1.  
 Conduit, tankard bearer at a, i. 3.  
 Coney catching rascal, a sharper or cheat, iii. 1.  
 Constable, the, iv. 10.  
 Copesmate, companion and friend, iv. 9.  
 Cophetua (King) allusion to, iii. 4.  
 Costarmonger [costar originally a seller of costards or large apples—Wheatley] costermonger, i. 3.  
 Coystril, a scoundrel, iv. 2.  
 Cross, a penny which was stamped with a cross, iv. 9.  
 Cullion, a scoundrel, iii. 5.  
 Culverin (demi) a cannon of four inches bore [Wheatley] iii. 1.  
 Cypress, chiefly represented by what we now call crape, i. 3.

Deptford, Sir Francis Drake's ship ["The Golden Hind,"—Wheatley] i. 3.

Dor, to impose upon [Gifford], iv. 8.  
 Drake (Sir F.), old ship of, i. 3.  
 Dress of a merchant, ii. 1.  
 —see "boots," "caps," "shoes," "slops," "stockings," "stomacher."  
 Drinking at ale houses, iv. 6, 8.  
 Drum, the, iii. 2.  
 Ducking ponds at Islington, i. I.  
 Duelling, i. 5.  
 Dumps (in), out of spirits, iii. 7.  
 Durindana, the sword of Orlando, iii. 1.

Earrings, worn by men, iv. 9.  
 Ember weeks, iii. 4.  
 Excalibur, the sword of King Arthur, iii. 1.  
 Exchange-time, the meeting-time for business, i.e., ten o'clock [Gifford], iii. 3.

Fackins (by my), an oath, by my Faith, i. 3.  
 Fasting days, iii. 4.  
 Fayles, game of [an old table game, one of the numerous varieties of backgammon—Gifford] iii. 3.  
 Fencing, i. 5; terms of, iv. 7.  
 Finsbury, archery at, i. 1.  
 Fish, kinship with, iii. 4.  
 Fire, burning of the world by, iii. 4.  
 Fleering, mocking, iii. 3.

- Fleming sword, iii. 1.  
 Flemings, fondness of, for butter, iii. 4.  
 Flesht, excited, ii. 5.  
 Foist, a cut purse, iv. 4, 7.  
 Food, refinements of, ii. 5.  
 Poppery, badinage, foolery, iv. 2.  
 French custom of swearing, iii. 5.  
 ———, words, objection to using, i. 5.  
 Freshwater (Mr), a byword for a raw foolish person [Wheatley] v. 2.  
 Frippery, old clothes shop [Gifford], i. 2.  
 Games, see "cards," "fayles" "shove groat," "tick tack."  
 Garagantua, large, giant like [derived from the name of Rabelais' giant, was a favourite word in Johnson's day—Wheatley] ii. 2.  
 George Castriota (1414-1467) chief of Epirus alluded to, i. 3.  
 Ging, company, ii. 2.  
 Gleek, game of cards, see "cards."  
 Gorget, a defence for the neck worn by soldiers, v. 1.  
 Gown, sergeant's [the badge of his office—Wheatley] iv. 11.  
 Gramercy, much thanks, i. 3.  
 Grogans, coarse woollen cloth, ii. 1.  
 Halberdier, iii. 5.  
 Hang bys, hangers on, iii. 1., iv. 2.  
 Hanger, the strap attached to the girdle in which the dagger hung, i. 5.  
 Hannibal, a malapropism for cannibal, iii. 4.  
 Harrot, an old form of herald, i. 4.  
 Hawking, accoutrements for, i. 1.  
 Hawking and hunting, books on, i. 1.  
 Hay, a hit [from the Italian hai, Wheatley], iv. 7.  
 Helter-skelter, i. 4.  
 Herring alluded to as the king of fish, i. 4.  
 Higginbottom, an unknown character alluded to, ii. 4.  
 Hoddy-doddy, a short, clumsy person [any one made foolish—Wheatley].  
     iv. 10.  
 Hogsden, Hoxton, alluded to, i. 1, 2.  
 Holofernes, iv. 2.  
 Hoyday, heyday, an exclamation, iv. 2.  
 Hum-drum, dull, heavy fellows, i. 1.  
 Incline, wit or understanding, v. 3.  
 Inn signs, Green Lattice, iii. 7; the Star, iv. 2; Water Tankard, iii. 7;  
     Windmill, i. 2; iii. 2; v. 3.  
 Islington, ducking-ponds at, i. 1.  
 Jet, attraction of straws by, iii. 3.  
 Jet rings [great virtue was attributed to jet in former times—Wheatley],  
     ii. 4.  
 Kissing, iii. 6.  
 Kyd (Thomas), *The Spanish Tragedy*, alluded to, i. 5.  
 Lance knights, foot soldiers, ii. 4.  
 Latin pronunciation, iv. 2.  
 Lattice [the windows of alehouses were furnished with lattices of various  
     colours—Gifford], iii. 6.  
 Lawn, used for ruffs, ruffles, &c., i. 3.  
 Leek porridge, a food, iii. 4.  
 Lega, covering for the, i. 3.  
 Leystals, dunghills, ii. 5.  
 Linstock, a pike with a match at the end used by gunners, iii. 1.  
 London, Artillery Garden, iii. 5; Bridewell, iii. 6; Christ's Hospital or  
     blue-coat school, ii. 1; Colman Street, iii. 2, 5; Custom-House  
     Key, iii. 2; the Exchange, ii. 1; iii. 3; iv. 7; Fleet Street,  
     ii. 2; Guildhall, i. 2; Houndsditch, iii. 5; Mile End, ii. 5;  
     iv. 6; Moorfields, ii. 4; iv. 6; Moregate, i. 3; Old Jewry,



LONDON (*continued*)—

- i. 2, 3, 4; Shoreditch, iv. 7; Thames Street, iii. 2; Tower, iv. 8; Turnbull, iv. 7; the Wall, iv. 6; Whitechapel, iv. 7; see "Finsbury," "Hogsden," "Islington," "Paul's man," "Picthatch."  
 —, citizens of, visiting Islington, i. 1.  
 —, fields near, iii. 2.  
 —, government, see "constable," "mace," "sergeant."  
 —, ordinaries, ii. 5.  
 —, pounds, the counters, ii. 1.  
 —, taverns, the Windmill [which stood at the corner of Old Jewry towards Lothbury—Gifford], i. 2; iii. 2; v. 3.

Mace, carried by city sergeant, iv. ii.

Maw, stomach, hence a great appetite, iii. 4.

Main, great, iii. 3.

Malt-horse, a heavy horse, i. 5.

Manners of youth, ii. 5.

Mash, a muddle, iv. 11.

Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, quoted, [see Gifford's note] iv. 2.

Marriages at the Tower of London, iv. 8.

Melancholy, a sign of gentility, i. 3; iii. 1.

Merchants' wares, ii. 1.

Middlesex, property in, i. 2.

Mechanical, belonging to a handicraft, hence base, mean, i. 2.

Minion, darling, iv. 3.

Millaner, merchants [supposed to be derived from the fact that these men dealt in merchandises chiefly imported from Milan—Wheatley], the origin of the modern milliner, i. 3.

Mithridate, an antidote against poison, iv. 8.

Monastic lands, allusion to practice of courtiers begging, ["You'll be begged else shortly with concealments"—Gifford], iv. 2.

Money, the craving for, ii. 5.

Montanto, a broad sword used by fencing masters, iv. 7.

Morglay, the sword of Bevis of Hampton, iii. 1.

Motley (to wear), [servants were by way of punishment for notorious faults stripped of their liveries and compelled to appear in a parti-coloured coat—Gifford], ii. 4.

Motte, a proverb, iv. 2.

Much, a favourite expression of contempt, used ironically for little [Wheatley], iv. 6.

Mun, must, i. 1.

Mushrooms, ii. 5.

Musket rest [the old musket was so large and unwieldy a weapon that it required a support before it could be used by the soldier—Gifford], ii. 5.

Musse, mouse, a favourite term of endearment, ii. 3.

Nicotian, a name for tobacco [derived from the name of the introducer, John Nicot—Wheatley], iii. 5.

Nupson, fool or simpleton, iv. 6.

Oaths, body of me, i. 4, 5; iii. 5; body o' Caesar iii. 5; iv. 2; by my fackins [by my faith], i. 3; as I am a gentleman and a soldier, i. 4, 5; iii. 1; for George, ii. 1, 2; gad's-lid [God's eyelid], i. 1; God's precious, iii. 7; v. 2; by the harrot's [herald's] books, i. 4; by Hercules, iii. 5; by this light, iv. 5; mack [apparently unmeaning, Wheatley], iii. 4; by the foot of Pharaoh, i. 4, 5; ii. 2; iii. 5; iv. 2, 7; by St. George, i. 4, 5; iii. 1, 5; iv. 2; 'adeath, ii. 1; iv. 7; 'adeyns, ii. 1, 3; iv. 3, 11; 'sfoot, ii. 4; 'slid [God's eyelid], i. 1, 3; ii. 4; iii. 1, 4; iv. 4, 5, 10; 's light [by this light], iii. 2; iv. 2, 6; 's lud, iv. 1.

Oaths, whether his oath can bind him, not lawfully taken [that is, unless taken in form before a legal magistrate—Wheatley], iii. 3.

Ordinaries, London, ii. 5.

Parboiled, boiled through, iv. 1.

- Parcel, the diminutive of part, iii. 7.  
 Paul's man, a frequenter of the middle aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral, the common resort of gossipers of every description—[Gifford], *dram. pers.*  
 Pawning, the practice of, alluded to, iii. 6; iv. 9.  
 Pell-mell, iii. 1.  
 Petronel, a carbine or horse pistol, iii. 1.  
 Pewter, housewife's, i. 3.  
 Pict-hatch, a notorious haunt of abandoned characters near Charterhouse [Wheatley], i. 2.  
 Pismire, ant or emmet, iv. 7.  
 Planet-struck, iv. 7.  
 Playwrites, i. 5.  
 Poetry, unprofitableness of writing, i. 1.  
 Posy upon rings, ii. 4.  
 Potlings, iv. 2.  
 Provant, a provider, iii. i.  
 Proverbs, care'll kill a cat, 1, 4; he has the wrong sow by the ear, ii. i. claps his dish at the wrong man's door [see Ray], ii. 1; as he brews so shall he drink, ii. 2; a crafty knave needs no broker [see Ray], iii. 5; I have eggs on the spit, iii. 6; a toy to mock an ape, iv. 2.  
 Provost, iii. 5.  
 Pyed, parti-coloured, i. 5.  
 Quacksalvers, mountebanks, ii. 1; iii. 5.  
 Rabelais, alluded to [see "Gargantua,"] ii., 2.  
 Radish, eating of with wine, i., 5; iv., 9.  
 Rake-hells, dissolute fellows, iv., 3.  
 Ratsbane, a poison, iii., 5.  
 Reformados, disbanded soldiers, iii., 5.  
 Rheum, caprice, iii., 4.  
 Rings, jet, ii., 4.  
 Rising, early, i., 4, 5.  
 Rook, a cheat or sharper [Wheatley], i., 5.  
 Rosaker, a poison, iii., 5.  
 Rosewater, used with fruit at breakfast [Wheatley], ii., 3.  
 Round, gentlemen of the, soldiers whose office it was to go round and inspect the sentinels, &c. [Gifford], iii., 5.  
 Russet, iv., 9.  
 Sack, wine, iii., 7.  
 Sadness, seriousness, i., 3.  
 St. Domingo, island of, iii., 5.  
 St. John's Wort, the plant so-called, iii., 5.  
 Scanderbag, Iskander-beg, Prince Alexander, i., 3.  
 Scot and lot, iii., 7.  
 Scot-free, iii., 7.  
 Scroyles, scrophulous, mangy fellows [from O. Fr. *escrouelles*—Wheatley], i., 1.  
 Serjeant-major, the officer now called major [Wheatley], iii., 5.  
 Serjeants-at-mace of London, iv., 9, 11.  
 Seven Wise Masters, alluded to, iii., 5.  
 Shoes, shining, alluded to contemptuously, ii., 1.  
 Shove-groat shilling, a smooth shilling used for the game of shuffleboard, iii., 5.  
 Signs of taverns, see "inn."  
 Silver stuffs, ii., 1.  
 Slop, tumbrel, the wide Dutch breeches common in Chaucer's time and re-introduced in the reign of Elizabeth [Wheatley], ii., 2; iv., 2.  
 Smoking, see "tobacco."  
 Snails used for food, ii., 5.  
 Snuff, use of alluded to, i., 1; iv., 2.  
 Sod, boiled [past part. of *sethe* is *sodden*], iv., 9.  
 Soldiers, begging of discharged, ii., 4, 5.  
 Song, "up tails all," reference to, i., 4.

- Sort, quantity, ii., 4.  
 Spanish coins, ii., 1.  
 Stage, customs of, *prol.*  
 Stale, to stale himself, to make himself cheap and common, ii., I.  
 Stockings (woollen and silk), i., 3; iv., 9.  
 Stomacher (wrought) an article of female dress, i., 3.  
 Stopple, i., 4.  
 Straw, binding the leg with, i., 3.  
 Strigonium, beleaguering of, iii., 1.  
 Suburb, i., 3.  
 Swearing, see "oaths."  
 Swinge, beat or chastise, ii., 2; iv., 11.  
 Sword, use of in London streets, ii., 2.  
 Sword names, iii., 1.  
 Sword play, i., 5.  
 Tabacco, "filthy roguish," i., 4, 5; iii., 5.  
 Tall, bold or courageous, iv., 7, 8, 11.  
 Theatre, as common as, ii., 1.  
 Three farthing piece, a coin struck in 1561, ii., 1.  
 Tick-tack, game of [a complicated species of backgammon—Gifford], iii., 3.  
 Ti-he, a word used to express the art of laughing or tittering [Wheatley], i., 4.  
 -Tightly, quickly, smartly, ii., 2.  
 Tobacco, iii., 5, 17.  
 Tokens, tavern, i., 4.  
 Tonnels, the throat, i., 4.  
 Trecher, traitor, iv., 9.  
 Trojan, brave, iv., 4.  
 Trundle (John), printer, alluded to, i., 3.  
 Truss, to tie the points or strings of a man's hose, i., 3.  
 Turkey company, allusion to, i., 2.  
 University scholarship, i., 1.  
 Unthrif, a prodigal, iii., 7.  
 Upsolve, solve it up, i., 4.  
 Varlet, a sèrgeant-at-mace, iv., 9, 11; v., 2.  
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 Wars, of Bohemia, Hungaria, Dalmatia, Poland, ii., 4.  
 Wealth of London, iv., 7.  
 Welkin, the sky, iv., 7.  
 What-sha-call-him, i., 3.  
 Whetstone, iv., 2.  
 Whistle, a child's, iii., 2.  
 Wusse, certainly [a corruption of *wis. A. S. gewis*—Wheatley,] i., 1; iv., 2.  
 Youth, manners of, ii., 5.

### NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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W. C. Lane (Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.)—Thanks for your admirable suggestion. It shall be adopted for the Subject Index at the end, but it would be too late to introduce the figures into the index now partly printed off.